CHASE AND STUART'S CLASSICAL SERIES.

THE GERMANIA, AGRICOLA,

AND

DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS

OF TACITUS.

With Explanatory Notes.

BY

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A FIRST LATIN BOOK,

A LATIN GRAMMAR,

A LATIN READER,

And Editions of all the Latin Authors usually read in Schools and Colleges.

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PREFACE

THERE is no reduction of our indebtedness to the scholars of Germany. They make ancient eloquence more eloquent, and ancient poetry more poetical. Halm, Wex, Kritz, Ritter, Haase, and others, have labored successfully in correcting many of the errors which marred the earlier editions of Tacitus. Labor, learning, and criticism have accomplished much. With the help of more numerous and more trustworthy manuscripts and marginal readings, and by a judicious use of the annotations of the ancient commentators, long desired improvements have been introduced into the text. Wex's searching examination of the text of the Agricola is contained in a stout octavo volume of more than two hundred pages.

Of the collective works of Tacitus, Halm's text enjoys a confessed superiority. But editors who have labored on special portions of the works of Tacitus may reasonably be expected to have some special merits. Hence while Halm is made the basis of the text herewith presented, such special merits were not overlooked. Whenever in the text of the Germania Kritz or Haase seemed to have something better, it was selected; and in the Agricola, which is still in an unsatisfactory condition,

and in a few places perhaps incurably corrupt, a similar preference was sometimes given to Wex. The text of the Dialogue is almost entirely that of Halm: in one instance Brotier's reading of a corrupt passage made it more intelligible, and was adopted. All the leading deviations from Halm are mentioned in the Notes.

The principal works of Tacitus were composed towards the close of the first century or in the beginning of the second, and as language has its periods of growth and decay, his phraseology sometimes differs from that of the Augustan age. The Dialogue was one of his earlier works, and in the greater ease and sprightliness of its structure still shows the influence of the Ciceronian style. Attention is called in the Notes to the leading departures from golden usage.

The manuscripts of Tacitus exhibit great variety in their orthography, and show, not how Tacitus, but how his transcribers spelled. While, therefore, wide departures from established usage were avoided, a strictly uniform orthography was not considered desirable.

Geographical, historical, and biographical information has been freely given, especially where such information seemed necessary for the elucidation of the text.

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CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL,
Philadelphia, July 1*st*, 1875.



LIFE OF TACITUS.

LITTLE is known of the life of Tacitus, except what he tells us himself, or what we may gather from the epistles of his friend, the younger Pliny. The time and place of his birth are unknown. Pliny was born A. D. 61, and as Tacitus was a few years older than Pliny, several circumstances render it probable that the date of his birth was not far from A. D. 51. His praenomen is also a matter of doubt. It is commonly written Caius, on the authority of Sidonius Apollinaris, though it is given as Publius in the best manuscript of the Annals. The name Cornelius suggests a possible connection with the great patrician Cornelia gens; but as there was also a plebeian house of the same name, the connection cannot be assumed with certainty. The town of Interamna, in Umbria, has been named as the birthplace of Tacitus. This assertion, however, rests on insufficient proof, and was probably based upon the known fact, that this town was in the third century the seat of the family of the emperor Tacitus, who claimed descent from the historian, and honored his memory by directing that ten copies of his works should be annually transcribed and placed in the public libraries. With regard to his parentage, we have at least a probable conjecture to guide us. The elder Pliny was, as he tells us, acquainted with one Cornelius Tacitus, who was then a procurator in Gallia Belgica, and who had a son. Plinius died A. D. 79, and the procurator cannot have been the historian; but it has been supposed that this Tacitus was the historian's father. A procurator was generally a person of equestrian rank.

Tacitus was first promoted by the emperor Vespasian, and he received other favors from his sons Titus and Domitian. What offices he may have held under the first and second of these princes, it is impossible to determine. C. Julius Agricola, who was consul A. D. 77, betrothed his daughter to Tacitus in that year,

but the marriage did not take place until the following year. In the reign of Domitian, and in A. D. 88, Tacitus was praetor, and he assisted as one of the quindecemviri at the solemnity of the Ludi Saeculares which were celebrated in that year, the fourteenth consulship of Domitian. Agricola died at Rome A. D. 93, but neither Tacitus nor the daughter of Agricola was then with him. It is not known where Tacitus was during the last illness of Agricola, for the assumption that he ever visited either Britain or Germany cannot be proved. He appears to say that he was himself a witness of some of the atrocities of Domitian. In the reign of Nerva, A. D. 97, Tacitus was appointed consul suffectus, in the place of T. Virginius Rufus, who had died in that year. Tacitus pronounced the funeral oration of Rufus, "and it was," says Pliny, "the completion of the felicity of Rufus to have his panegyric pronounced by so eloquent a man." Tacitus had attained oratorical distinction when Pliny was commencing his career. In A. D. 100, he was appointed, together with Pliny, who was then consul elect, to conduct the impeachment preferred by the province of Africa against the proconsul Marcus Priscus. Pliny, who relates the trial at length, describes the oratory of Tacitus as grave and dignified. Here the public life of Tacitus terminated.

Tacitus and Pliny were most intimate friends. In the collection of the letters of Pliny, there are eleven letters addressed to Tacitus. In a letter to his friend Maximus, Pliny shows that he considered his friendship with Tacitus a great distinction, and he tells the following anecdote. On one occasion, when Tacitus was a spectator at the Ludi Circenses, he fell into conversation with a Roman eques, who, after they had discoursed on various literary subjects for some time, asked Tacitus if he was an Italian or a provincial; to which Tacitus replied, "You are acquainted with me, and by my pursuits." "Are you," rejoined the stranger, "Tacitus or Pliny?" The sixteenth letter of the sixth book, in which Pliny describes the great eruption of Vesuvius, and the death of his uncle, is addressed to Tacitus, and for the purpose of enabling him to state the facts in his historical writings.

The date of the death of Tacitus is unknown, but that he lived at least down to the end of Trajan's reign, we may infer from Ann. II. 61, where he says that the Roman empire, "Nunc ad

rubrum mare patescit," an expression which must refer to the successes obtained by Trajan in his eastern expedition, A. D. 114–117.

The extant works of Tacitus are, the Life of Julius Agricola, a treatise on the Germans, Histories, Annals, and a Dialogue on the Causes of the Decline of Eloquence. The life of Agricola was written after the death of Domitian, A. D. 96, as we may probably conclude from the introduction, which was certainly written after Trajan's accession. This life is justly admired as a specimen of biography, though it is sometimes very obscure. It is a monument to the memory of a good man, and an able commander and administrator, by an affectionate son-in-law, who has portrayed in his peculiar manner, and with many masterly touches, the virtues of one of the most illustrious of the Romans. To Englishmen this life is peculiarly interesting, as Britain was the scene of Agricola's great exploits, who carried the Roman eagles even to the base of the Grampian mountains. It was during his invasion of Caledonia that Britain was first circumnavigated by a Roman fleet.

The treatise entitled *De Moribus et Populis Germaniae* treats of the Germanic nations, or of those whom Tacitus comprehended under that name. It has little value as a geographical description. The main matter is the description of the political institutions, the religion, and the habits of the various tribes included under the denomination of Germani. The sources of the author's information are not stated, but as there is no reason to suppose that he had seen Germany, all that he could know must have been derived from the Roman expeditions east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, and from the accounts of traders, who went at least as far as the Roman eagles, and perhaps farther. The value of the information contained in this treatise has often been discussed, and its credibility attacked ; but we may estimate its true character by observing the precision of the writer as to those Germans who were best known to the Romans from being near the Rhine. That the hearsay accounts of more remote tribes must partake of the defects of all such evidence is obvious; but to consider the Germany as a fiction, is one of those absurdities which need only be recorded, not refuted.

The *Historiae* were written after the death of Nerva, A. D. 98, and before the *Annales.* They comprehended the period from the second consulship of Galba, A. D. 68, to the death of Domitian, and the author designed to add the reigns of Nerva and Trajan. The first four books alone are extant in a complete form, and they comprehend only the events of about one year. The fifth book is imperfect, and goes no farther than the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, and the war of Civilis in Germany. It is not known how many books of the Histories there were, but it must have been a large work, if it was all written on the same scale as the first five books.

The *Annales* commence with the death of Augustus, A. D. 14, and comprise the period to the death of Nero, A. D. 68, a space of fifty-four years. The work contained sixteen books, but several entire books and portions of others are lost. The first five books were found, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the Abbey of Corvey in Westphalia, and they were first published at Rome by Philippus Beroaldus, in 1515.

The dialogue entitled *De Oratoribus,* which we have no hesitation in ascribing to the pen of Tacitus, must be his earliest work, as it was written in the sixth year of Vespasian. The style is more easy than that of the Annals, more diffuse, less condensed; but there is no obvious difference between the style of this Dialogue and that of the Histories, nothing so striking as to make us contend for a different authorship. Besides this, it is nothing unusual for works of the same author which are written at different times to vary greatly in style, especially if they treat of different matters. The old MSS. attribute this Dialogue to Tacitus. One of the speakers in the Dialogue attributes the decline of eloquence at Rome to the neglect of the arduous study of the old Roman orators, to which Cicero has left his testimony; but another speaker, Maternus, has assigned a direct and immediate cause, which was the change in the political constitution. Oratory is not the product of any system of government, except one in which the popular element is strong.

The moral dignity of Tacitus is impressed upon his works; the consciousness of a love of truth, of the integrity of his purpose. His great power is in the knowledge of the human mind, his in-

sight into the motives of human conduct; and he found materials for this study in the history of the emperors, and particularly Tiberius. We know men's intellectual powers, because they seek to display them: their moral character is veiled under silence and reserve, which are sometimes diffidence, but more frequently dissimulation. But dissimulation alone is not a sufficient cloak; it merely seeks to hide and cover, and, as the attempt to conceal excites suspicion, it is necessary to divert the vigilance of this active inquisitor. The dissembler therefore assumes the garb of goodness; and thus he is a hypocrite complete. In detecting these slight indications of character lies the great power of Tacitus: he penetrates to the hidden thoughts through the smallest avenue.

Tacitus knew nothing of Christianity, which, says Montaigne, was his misfortune, not his fault. His practical morality was the stoical, the only one that could give consolation in the age in which he lived. He had not the belief in the moral government of the world which the emperor Aurelius had, whose golden book is the noblest monument that a Roman has left behind him; or, if he had this belief, he has not expressed it distinctly. He loved virtue, he abhorred vice; but he has not shown that the constitution of things has an order impressed upon it by the law of its existence, which implies a lawgiver. A belief in existence independent of a corporeal form, of a life after death, is rather a hope with him than a conviction.

The style of Tacitus is peculiar, though it bears some resemblance to that of Sallust. In the Annals it is concise, vigorous, and pregnant with meaning; labored, but elaborated with art, and stripped of every superfluity. A single word sometimes gives effect to a sentence, and if the meaning of the word is missed, the sense of the writer is not reached. He leaves something for the reader to fill up, and does not overpower him with words. The words that he does use are all intended to have a meaning.

The style of the Ciceronian age aimed at richness of expression, and smoothly flowing and gracefully finished periods. It was brought by Cicero to perhaps as high a degree of perfection as the Latin language admitted. The succeeding age proposed to itself a somewhat different aim. Hence quite a different set of literary characteristics. A style sententious and concise, sometimes un-

pleasantly abrupt, with far-fetched, poetical, and even archaic terms and expressions, became fashionable. Scope was thus given to some of the worst extravagances of bad taste, and we find nearly all the writers of what is called the silver age indulging in pedantries and affectations which frequently render them harsh and obscure. A reaction followed in favor of the earlier or Ciceronian style. Of this we have evident traces in Tacitus. He seems to have aimed at combining some of Cicero's most conspicuous graces with the pointed and sententious character of the new style. In the style of Tacitus the form is always subordinate to the matter; the ideas maintain their due supremacy over the language in which they are conveyed. There is none of that striving after epigrammatic terseness which savors of affectation. His brevity, like that which characterizes the style of Thucydides, is the necessary condensation of a writer whose thoughts flow more quickly than his pen can express them. Hence his sentences are suggestive of far more than they express; they are enigmatical hints of deep and hidden meaning, which keep the mind active and the attention alive, and delight the reader with the pleasures of discovery and the consciousness of difficulties overcome. Nor is this natural and unintentional brevity unsuitable to the cautious reserve with which all were tutored to speak and think of political subjects in perilous times. It is extraordinary how often a similarity between his mind and that of Thucydides inadvertently discovers itself, not only in his mode of thinking, but also in his language, even in his grammatical constructions, especially in his frequent substitution of attraction for government, in instances of condensed construction, and in the connection of clauses grammatically different, although they are metaphysically the same. Nor is his brevity dry or harsh: it is enlivened by copiousness, variety, and poetry. He scarcely ever repeats the same idea in the same form. No author is richer in synonymous words, or arranges with more varied skill the position of words in a sentence. As for poetic genius, his language is highly figurative; his descriptions of scenery and incidents are eminently picturesque; his characters dramatic; the expression of his own sentiments and feelings as subjective as lyric poetry.

Full of sagacious observation and descriptive power, Tacitus

engages the most serious attention of the reader by the gravity of his condensed and comprehensive style, as he does by the wisdom and dignity of his reflections. Living amidst the influences of a corrupt age, he was uncontaminated; and by his virtue and integrity, his chastened political liberty, commands our admiration as a man, whilst his love of truth is reflected in his character as a historian.

It has been usual to regard Cicero as the representative of the most perfect Latinity, and Tacitus as a man of genius belonging to a declining age, and infected by many of its chief literary vices. This view ignores several important considerations, and requires correction. It is true that the style of Cicero, from its general conformity to certain precise and definite rules, is fitted to be a model of Latinity in a sense in which that of Tacitus cannot be. A modern scholar feels instinctively that the former is much more suitable for imitation; but it is, we think, a great mistake to claim on this ground for Cicero a distinct superiority over Tacitus. Cicero, indeed, was enabled, by his great abilities and wide culture, to give a richness and flexibility to the Latin language which it had not known before his time, and we may venture to affirm that without him there could not have been a Tacitus. If, however, we are to measure excellence of style by its capacity of adequately representing the profound and subtle ideas of a really great thinker, we shall see good reason for placing Tacitus in at least as high a rank as Cicero. In vividness of imagination, in insight into the intricacies of human character, in breadth and comprehensiveness of his historical faculty, he stands first among Roman writers. These qualities are continually reflected in his style. In the language of the time, permeated as it was with Greek ideas and phrases, he found an instrument ready to his hand; he used it with consummate mastery of its various resources, and succeeded in giving to great thoughts a singularly characteristic expression. — *Compiled from various sources.*



CORNELII TACITI

DE ORIGINE, SITU, MORIBUS AC POPULIS

G E R M A N I A E

LIBER.

BREVIARIUM.

CAP. 1. Germaniae situs. 2. Incolae indigenae. Auctores gentis. Nominis origo. Hercules. 3. Barditus. Ara Ulixis. 4. Germani, gens sincera. Habitus corporum. 5. Terrae natura. Non aurum, non argentum, nec aestimatum. 6. Germanorum arma, equitatus, peditatus, ordo militiae. 7. Reges, duces, sacerdotes. 8. Feminarum virtus et veneratio. Veleda. Albruna (*al.* Aurinia). 9. Dii, sacra, simulacra nulla. 10. Auspicia, sortes. Ex equis, e captivo praesagia. 11. Consultationes publicae et conventus. 12. Accusationes, poenae, jus redditum. 13. Scuto frameaque ornati juvenes, principum comites. Eorum virtus et fama. 14. Gentis bellica studia. 15. In pace venatio, otium. Collata principibus munera. 16. Urbes nullae. Vici, domus, specus suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus. 17. Vestitus virorum, feminarum. 18. Matrimonia severa. Dos a marito oblata. 19. Pudicitia, adulterii poena. Monogamia. Liberorum numerus non finitus. 20. Liberorum educatio. Successionis leges. 21. Patris, propinqui, amicitiae inimicitiaeque susceptae. Homicidii pretium. Hospitalitas. 22. Lotio, victus, ebriorum rixae. Consultatio in conviviis. 23. Potus, cibus.

24. Spectacula. Aleae furor. 25. Servi, libertini. 26. Fenus ignotum. Agricultura. Anni tempora. 27. Funera, sepulchra, luctus. 28. Singularum gentium instituta. Galli, olim valida gens, in Germaniam transgressi, Helvetii, Boii. Aravisci, Osi, incertum genus. Germanicae originis populi Treveri, Nervii, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes, Ubii. 29. Batavi, Chattorum proles. Mattiaci. Decumates agri. 30, 31. Chattorum regio, habitus, disciplina militaris, vota, virtutis incentiva. 32. Usipi, Tencteri, equitatu praestantes. 33. Bructerorum sedes, a Chamavis et Angrivariis occupatae. 34. Dulgibini. Chasuari. Frisii. 35. Chauci, pacis studio, justitia et virtute nobiles. 36. Cherusci et Fosi, a Chattis victi. 37. Cimbrorum parva civitas, gloria ingens. Romanorum clades. Germani triumphati magis quam victi. 38. Sueborum numerus, mores. 39. Semnonum religio, victimae humanae. 40. Langobardi. Reudigni. Aviones. Anglii. Varini. Eudoses. Suardones. Nuitones. Nerthi cultus communis. 41. Hermunduri. 42. Naristi. Marcomani. Quadi. 43. Marsigni. Gotini. Osi. Buri. Lygiorum civitates, Harii, Helvecones, Manimi, Elisii, Nahanarvali; horum numen Alcis. Gotones. Rugii. Lemovii. 44. Suiones, classibus valentes. 45. Mare pigrum. Aestii, matris deum cultores, succinum legunt. Sitonibus femina imperat. 46. Peucini, Venedi, Fenni, Germani an Sarmatae? Eorum feritas, paupertas. Hominum monstra, Hellusii, Oxiones.

1. Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danuvio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur; cetera oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia com-

plectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Raeticarum Alpium inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali oceano miscetur. Danuvius, molli et clementer edito montis Abnobae jugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat: septimum os paludibus hauritur.

2. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos, quia nec terra olim sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quaerebant, et immensus ultra, utque sic dixerim, adversus oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit?

Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tres filios assignant, e quorum nominibus proximi oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur. Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, plures deo ortos pluresque gentis appellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suebos, Vandalios, affirmant, eaque vera et antiqua nomina; ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint,

ut nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint: ita nationis nomen, non gentis, evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox etiam a se ipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur.

3. Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt animos, futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur; terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies; nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur. Affectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, objectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. Ceterum et Ulixem quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adjecto Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc exstare; quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem.

4. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque

corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida; laboris atque operum non eadem patientia; minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam caelo solove assuerunt.

5. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda, humidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit; satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fecunda, sed plerumque improcera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis; numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitiine an irati di negaverint dubito. Nec tamen affirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere; quis enim scrutatus est? Possessione et usu haud perinde afficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur; quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae agnoscunt atque eligunt; interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla affectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

6. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. Rari gladiis aut majoribus lanceis utuntur; hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt, angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel comminus vel eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est; pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli, atque in immensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves. Nulla cultus jactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt. Paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui; sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur: in rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita conjuncto orbe ut nemo posterior sit. In universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris: eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni juventute delectos ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus: centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. Scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso fas: multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

7. Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt.

Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt. Ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt. Effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt; quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus neque fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores: ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

8. Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas jam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et objectu pectorum et monstrata comminus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa negligunt. Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam, diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam; sed et olim Albrunam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, neque tamquam facerent deas.

9. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Martem concessis animalibus placant [et Herculem]. Pars Sueborum et Isidi sacrificat: unde causa et origo peregrino sacro parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum docet advectam religionem. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur; lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident.

10. Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. Mox, si publice consultetur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae, precatus deos caelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare. Proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur isdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major

fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes; se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorantur: ejus gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria hujus vel illius pro praejudicio accipitur.

11. De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes, ita tamen ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut jussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut turbae placuit, considunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercendi jus est, imperatur. Mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt. Honoratissimum assensus genus est armis laudare.

12. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et discri-

men capitis intendere. Distinctio poenarum ex delicto. Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt; ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames coeno ac palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. Sed et levioribus delictis pro modo poena: equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur. Pars multae regi vel civitati, pars ipsi qui vindicatur vel propinquis ejus exsolvitur. Eliguntur in isdem conciliis et principes, qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt; centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.

13. Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinqui scuto frameaque juvenem ornant: haec apud illos toga, hic primus juventae honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae. Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis assignant: ceteris robustioribus ac jam pridem probatis aggregantur, nec rubor inter comites aspici. Gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet, judicio ejus quem sectantur; magnaque et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus,

in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat; expetuntur enim legationibus et muneribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

14. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse: illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae ejus assignare, praecipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. Si civitas in qua orti sunt longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tuentur; exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam epulae et, quamquam incompti, largi tamen apparatus, pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore acquirere quod possis sanguine parare.

15. Quotiens bella non ineunt, multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque, for-

tissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia: ipsi hebent, mira diversitate naturae, cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis sed et publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque. Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

16. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant non in nostrum morem connexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium sive inscitia aedificandi. Ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus; materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quaedam loca diligentius illinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum ejus modi locis molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

17. Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum; cetera intecti totos dies juxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae negligenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum, quas exterior oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet. Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris: nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine sed ob nobilitatem pluribus nuptiis ambiuntur.

18. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. Intersunt parentes ac propinqui ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quaesita nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. In haec munera uxor accipitur, atque in vicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro affert: hoc maximum vinculum, haec arcana sacra, hos conjugales deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum

casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque: hoc juncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant: sic vivendum, sic pereundum: accipere se quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant, rursusque ad nepotes referantur.

19. Ergo septa pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptae. Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permissa: abscisis crinibus, nudatam, coram propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verbere agit; publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia: non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum quomodo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum sed tamquam matrimonium ament. Numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex agnatis necare flagitium habetur, plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

20. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. Sua quem-

que mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas: inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. Sera juvenum venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur; eadem juventa, similis proceritas: pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt. Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmius et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quo major affinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus; nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

21. Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est; nec implacabiles durant: luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae juxta libertatem.

Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatis epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati

adeunt: nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad jus hospitis, nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris; et poscendi in vicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.

22. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt: separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia, nec minus saepe ad convivia, procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum. Crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis in vicem inimicis et jungendis affinitatibus et asciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia joci; ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens; postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est: deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt; constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

23. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus: proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera aut lac concretum: sine apparatu, sine blandi-

mentis expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia: si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.

24. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu jaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem, non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem; quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium. Aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis juvenior, quamvis robustior, alligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re prava pervicacia: ipsi fidem vocant. Servos condicionis hujus per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant.

25. Ceteris servis non in nostrum morem descriptis per familiam ministeriis utuntur: suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis ut colono injungit, et servus hactenus paret: cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere rarum: occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est. Liberti non multum supra servos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civi-

tate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur; ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt: apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

26. Fenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum; ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset. Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis in vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur; facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praebent. Arva per annos mutant, et superest ager. Nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent: sola terrae seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent; autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

27. Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observant, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adjicitur; sepulcrum caespes erigit: monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.

Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus: nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quae nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

28. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctor divus Julius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos: quantulum enim amnis obstābat quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc Boihaemi nomen signatque loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis, Germanorum natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone, institutis, moribus utantur, incertum est, quia pari olim inopia ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa affectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

29. Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et seditione do-

mestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne; nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit: exempti oneribus et collationibus et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens; protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam: ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et caelo acrius animantur.

Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danuviumque consederint, eos qui decumates agros exercent: levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum occupavere; mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

30. Ultra hos Chatti: initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu inchoatur, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates in quas Germania patescit; durant si quidem colles paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et major animi vigor; multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis ac sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intelligere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam

inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant: alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum; rari excursus et fortuita pugna; equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere: velocitas juxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

31. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata cujusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia nascendi retulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus ferunt: ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. Plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus, jamque canent insignes et hostibus simul suisque monstrati. Omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec prima semper acies, visu nova; nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur, prodigi alieni, contemptores sui, donec exsanguis senectus tam durae virtuti impares faciat.

32. Proximi Chattis certum jam alveo Rhenum

quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipi ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt; nec major apud Chattos peditum laus quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere majores: posteri imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, haec juvenum aemulatio; perseverant senes. Inter familiam et penates et jura successionum equi traduntur: excipit filius, non ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

33. Juxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant: nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur: pulsis Bructeris ac penitus excisis vicinarum consensu nationum; seu superbiae odio seu praedae dulcedine seu favore quodam erga nos deorum; nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere. Super sexaginta milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui, quando urgentibus imperii fatis nihil jam praestare fortuna majus potest quam hostium discordiam.

34. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgibini et Chasuarii cludunt aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae; a fronte Frisii excipiunt. Majoribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. Utraeque nationes usque ad oceanum Rheno praetexuntur ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam oceanum illa temptavimus; et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas

fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem ejus referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico: sed obstitit oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo temptavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

35. Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus: in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri; sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. Id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per injurias assequuntur; prompta tamen omnibus arma et, si res poscat, exercitus, plurimum virorum equorumque; et quiescentibus eadem fama.

36. In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt; idque jucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas: ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui olim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur: Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam

cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, cum in secundis minores fuissent.

37. Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens; veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. Sexcentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, Caecilio Metello et Papirio Carbone consulibus; ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Trajani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur: tam diu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi aevi spatio multa in vicem damna; non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere: quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis quam caedem Crassi, amisso et ipse Pacoro, infra Ventidium dejectus oriens objecerit? At Germani Carbone et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Caepione, Marco quoque Manlio fusis vel captis, quinque simul consulares exercitus populo Romano, Varum tresque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt; nec impune C. Marius in Italia, divus Julius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et

civilium armorum, expugnatis legionum hibernis, etiam Gallias affectavere; ac rursus inde pulsi proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

38. Nunc de Suebis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve gens; majorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune Suebi vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere: sic Suebi a ceteris Germanis, sic Sueborum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus seu cognatione aliqua Sueborum seu, quod saepe accidit, imitatione, rarum et intra juventae spatium: apud Suebos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac saepe in ipso vertice religatur; principes et ornatiorem habent. Ea cura formae, sed innoxia; neque enim ut ament amenturve, in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella, compti ut hostium oculis, ornantur.

39. Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones memorant; fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia: nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens. Si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur. Eoque omnis superstitio re-

spicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subjecta atque parentia. Adjicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum: centum pagis habitant, magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Sueborum caput credant.

40. Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuitones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. Nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est, Terram matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis, arbitrantur. Est in insula oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum; attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident.

41. Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora

Germaniae porrigitur: propior (ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuvium sequar), Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia. Passim sine custode transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclutum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

42. Juxta Hermunduros Naristi ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque etiam ipsa sedes pulsis olim Boiis virtute parta. Nec Naristi Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danuvio peragitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus: jam et externos patiuntur, sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. Raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia juvantur, nec minus valent.

43. Retro Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque claudunt. E quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suebos referunt: Cotinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur. Partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis imponunt: Cotini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effo-

diunt. Omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium jugumque insederunt. Dirimit enim scinditque Suebiam continuum montium jugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt; ex quibus latissime patet Lygiorum nomen, in plures civitates diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Harios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elisios, Nahanarvalos. Apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ea vis numini; nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes venerantur. Ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt, ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.

44. Trans Lygios Gotones regnantur, paulo jam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab oceano Rugii et Lemovii; omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in oceano, praeter viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eo differt,

quod utrimque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit; nec velis ministrantur nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt; solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis jam exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi. Nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet oceanus; otiosae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt; enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

45. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortum edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri formasque deorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adjicit. Illuc usque, et fama vera, tantum natura. Ergo jam dextro Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gentes alluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Sueborum, lingua Britannicae propior. Matrem deum venerantur. Insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis omnique tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium sucinum, quod ipsi glesum vocant, inter vada

atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve; diu quin etiam inter cetera ejectamenta maris jacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. Ipsis in nullo usu: rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Sucum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque interlucent, quae implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque, sicut orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita occidentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim; quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. Si naturam sucini admoto igni temptes, in modum taedae accenditur alitque flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit.

Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Suebiae finis.

46. Peucinorum Venetorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis ascribam dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium ac torpor procerum; connubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur. Veneti multum ex moribus traxerunt; nam quidquid inter

Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniis pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent: quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus: sola in sagittis spes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit; passim enim comitantur partemque praedae petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare: securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos, rem difficillimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus sit. Cetera jam fabulosa: Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere: quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam.

CORNELII TACITI

DE VITA ET MORIBUS

JULII AGRICOLAE

LIBER.

BREVIARIUM.

Cap. 1–3. Scribendi clarorum virorum vitam mos antiquus, sub malis principibus periculosus, sub Trajano in honorem Agricolae repetitus a Tacito, qui non eloquentiam, sed pietatem pollicetur. 4. Agricolae stirps, educatio, studia. 5, 6. Positis in Britannia primis castrorum rudimentis, uxorem ducit. Fit quaestor, tribunus, praetor. Recognoscendis templorum donis praefectus. 7. Othoniano bello matrem partemque patrimonii amittit. 8. In Vespasiani partes transgressus, legioni vicesimae in Britannia praepositus, alienae famae cura promovet suam. 9. Redux inter patricios ascitus Aquitaniam regit. Consul factus Tacito filiam despondet. Britanniae praeficitur.

10. Britanniae descriptio. Thule cognita. Mare pigrum. 11, 12. Britannorum origo, habitus, sacra, sermo, mores; militia, regimen, rarus conventus. Caelum, solum, metalla, margarita. 13. Victae gentis ingenium. Caesarum in Britanniam expeditiones. 14. Consularium legatorum res gestae. 15, 16. Britanniae rebellio, Boudicea duce coepta, a Suetonio Paulino compressa. Huic succedunt ignavi. 17–21. Rem restituunt Petilius Cerialis et Julius Frontinus; hic Silures, ille Brigantes vincit; Agricola

Ordovices et Monam. Totam provinciam pacat et moderatione, prudentia, abstinentia, aequitate in obsequio retinet, animosque artibus et voluptatibus mollit.

22–23. Nova expeditio novas gentes aperit, quae praesidio firmantur. Agricolae candor in communicanda gloria. 24. Consilium de occupanda Hibernia. 25–27. Civitates trans Bodotriam sitae explorantur. Caledonii, Romanos aggressi, consilio ductuque Agricolae pulsi, sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sanciunt. 28. Usipiorum cohors miro casu Britanniam circumvecta. Agricolae filius obit. 29–32. Bellum Britanni reparant Calgaco duce; ejus oratio ad suos. 33, 34. Romanos quoque hortatur Agricola. 35–37. Atrox et cruentum proelium. 38. Penes Romanos victoria. Agricola Britanniam circumvehi praecipit.

39. Domitianus, fronte laetus, pectore anxius, nuntium victoriae excipit. 40. Honores tamen Agricolae decerni jubet, condito odio, donec provincia decedat Agricola. Is redux modeste agit. 41. Periculum ab accusatoribus et laudatoribus. 42. Excusat se, ne provinciam sortiatur proconsul. 43. Obit non sine veneni suspicione a Domitiano dati. 44. Ejus aetas, habitus, honores, opes. 45. Mortis opportunitas ante Domitiani atrocitates. 46. Questus scriptoris et ex virtute solatia. Fama Agricolae ad posteros transmissa.

1. Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, igno-

rantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt; nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes isdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis venia opus fuit, quam non petissem incusaturus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

2. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exsilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

3. Nunc demum rediit animus, et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Trajanus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur assumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid, si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt? Pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

4. Cnaeus Julius Agricola, vetere et illustri Forojuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater Julius Graecinus, senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Caii

Caesaris meritus: namque M. Silanum accusare jussus, et quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in juventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset. Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute appetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

5. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more juvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere in jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitatior magisque in ambiguo

Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et recuperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere juveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

6. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi junxit; idque matrimonium ad majora nitenti decus ac robur fuit; vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et in vicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto major laus quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit, quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et proconsul in omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium simul et solatium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem praeturae tenor et silentium; nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abun-

dantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima conquisitione effecit, ne cujus alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset.

7. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus afflixit. Nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intemelios (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio affectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, juvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicesimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. Ita successor simul et ultor electus, rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

8. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus placidius, quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis

miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum, sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat; saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. Nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit; ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando, extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

9. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios ascivit; ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae inprimis dignitatis administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis jurisdictio secura et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile justeque agebat. Jam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa: ubi conventus ac judicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, sed saepius misericors: ubi officio satis factum, nulla ultra potestatis persona: tristitiam et arrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat. Nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit:

procul ab aemulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama; aliquando et elegit. Consul egregiae tum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

10. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est: ita quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur, Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur; septentrionalia ejus, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni assimulavere; et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa: sed immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circum-

vecta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus jussum; et hiems appetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli, credo quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam oceani atque aestus neque quaerere hujus operis est, ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

11. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem asseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit. In universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et,

ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. Plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.

12. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur. Honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis distrahuntur. Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusvè civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Caelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere sed transire affirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit. Solum, praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt; eademque utriusque rei causa, multus humor terrarum caelique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium

victoriae. Gignit et oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi. Ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

13. Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et injuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si injuriae absint: has aegre tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia et in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace: consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Caium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis poenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor tandem operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et assumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit: domitae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

14. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius; redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae; addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad

nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac jam pridem recepta populi Romani çonsuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum exstinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam ut vires rebellibus ministrantem aggressus terga occasioni patefecit.

15. Namque absentia legati remoto metu, Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias et interpretando accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. Aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subjectis exitiosam. Alterius manum centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. Nihil jam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In proelio fortiorem esse qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, injungi delectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantulum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias excussisse jugum: et flumine, non oceano defendi. Sibi patriam, conjuges, parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas

belli esse. Recessuros, ut divus Julius recessisset, modo virtutem majorum suorum aemularentur. Neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus, majorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Jam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent; jam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. Porro in ejus modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere.

16. His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicea, generis regii femina, duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere, ut sedem servitutis; nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et proprius ex legato timor agitabat, ne, quamquam egregius cetera, arroganter in deditos et, ut suae exercitusque injuriae ultor, durius consuleret. Missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus, tamquam exorabilior et delictis hostium novus eoque poenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus, Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius, segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam barbari quoque ignoscere,

vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit justam segnitiae excusationem. Sed discordia laboratum, cum assuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit; ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem, et seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

17. Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, aggressus. Multa proelia et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset sustinuitque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat; validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

18. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media jam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum ejus alam in finibus suis

agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia; et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem; caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, cujus possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed, ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare exspectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expedi-

tionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

19. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si injuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve ascire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare. Omnia scire, non omnia exsequi. Parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec poena semper, sed saepius poenitentia contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium assidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac luere pretio cogebantur. Devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosum fieret.

20. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intole-

rantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disjectos coercere, loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus invitamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars *pariter* illacessita transierit.

21. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domos exstruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. Paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

22. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est)

nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Annotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; crebrae eruptiones; nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum aestate atque hieme juxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur; ut erat comis bonis, ita adversus malos injucundus. Ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat; secretum vel silentium ejus non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

23. Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta; ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis firmabatur, atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

24. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima trans-

gressus ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae, quae Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem; si quidem Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem magnis in vicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt. Melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

25. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum inchoabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostilis exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quae ab Agricola primum assumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles, mixti copiis et laetitia, sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent, ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus

oceanus militari jactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castellum adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et excedendum potius quam pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium admonebant; cum interim cognoscit hostes pluribus agminibus irrupturos. Ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

26. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio, universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte aggressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus irrupere. Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque assultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab universis adjici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. Ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. Ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

27. Cujus conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant. Atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute sed occasione et arte victos rati, nihil ex arrogantia remittere, quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatium sancirent. Atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

28. Eadem aestate cohors Usipiorum, per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa, magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur. Mox adaquatum atque utilia raptum exeuntes, cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi; ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. Ac fuere quos per commercia venum-

datos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus illustravit.

29. Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit: et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Graupium pervenit, quem jam hostis insederat. Nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatium vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc affluebat omnis juventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

30. "Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore; nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullae ultra terrae, ac ne mare quidem securum imminente nobis classe Romana. Ita proelium atque arma, quae

fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus Britanniae patet, atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, jam et mare scrutantur; si locuples hostis est, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi; quos non oriens, non occidens satiaverit. Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant."

31. "Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per delectus alibi servituri auferuntur: conjuges sororesque etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia

servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur; neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in poenitentiam *arma* laturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit."

32. "An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent: nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et affectu teneri putatis. Metus ac terror sunt infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos conjuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt;

aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est. Paucos numero, locorum trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circum spectantes, clausos quodam modo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod nec tegit nec vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus. Agnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem; deserent illos ceteri Germani, tam quam nuper Usipi reliquerunt. Nec quicquam ultra formidinis; vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et injuste imperantes aegra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem et majores vestros et posteros cogitate."

33. Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Jamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cujusque procursu; simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coercitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit: "Octavus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera vestra Britanniam vicistis. Tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostes, seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis poenituit. Ergo egressi, ego

veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia et subacta. Equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cujusque voces audiebam: 'Quando dabitur hostis, quando acies?' Veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi, et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus atque eadem victis adversa. Nam ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus periculosissima, quae hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia, sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, jam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse."

34. "Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Hi sunt quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis aggressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quo modo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pelluntur, sic acerrimi Britannorum jam

pridem ceciderunt; reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. Quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae res, et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, approbate rei publicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi."

35. Et alloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est; statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus affunderentur. Legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus, citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per acclive jugum connexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne simul in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

36. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simul-

que constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus. Nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedare, et stratis qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu connisae proximos quosque caedere; ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae, ut fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere; et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque aequa nostris jam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre jam diu ante stantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

37. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, veni-

entibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum; transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque. Postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, collecti primos sequentium, incautos et locorum ignaros, circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi in vicem longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Caesa hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere; in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus cohortis, juvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus illatus.

38. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus; Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierum-

que ploratu trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere in vicem consilia aliqua, deinde separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari; satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, deserti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius; quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum, et exacta jam aestate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. Datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. Ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo Britanniae latere lecto omni redierat.

39. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum jactantia epistolis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur; at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime

formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret; nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

40. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et illustris statuae honorem, et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu jubet addique insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et majoribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse; sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium immixtus est. Ceterum uti militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tran-

quillitatem atque otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo uti plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

41. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cujusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt rei publicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec jam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

42. Aderat jam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiae et Africae sortiretur; et occiso Civica nuper nec Agric-

olae consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui, iturusne esset in provinciam, ultro Agricolam interrogarent. Ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in approbanda excusatione offerre, postremo non jam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in arrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis et, cum annuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen proconsulari solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolae non dedit, sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris: Domitiani vero natura, praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani jactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

43. Finis vitae ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt; nec quisquam audita morte Agricolae aut laetatus aut statim

oblitus est. Augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum: nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim. Ceterum per omnem valetudinem ejus crebrius quam ex more principatus, per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic accelerari, quae tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animo vultuque prae se tulit, securus jam odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat, lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore judicioque. Tam caeca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

44. Natus erat Agricola Caio Caesare tertium consule idibus Juniis: excessit sexto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo kalendas Septembres Collega Priscoque consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque ejus posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil metus in vultu: gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opi-

bus nimiis non gaudebat; speciosae contigerant. Filia atque uxore superstitibus potest videri etiam beatus incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis affinitatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse. Nam sicuti durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Trajanum videre quondam augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solatium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhausit.

45. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tót consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius jam tum reus erat: mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos jussitque scelera, non spectavit; praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et

libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiaeque ejus praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti auget maestitiam, quod assidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. Excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, assidente amantissima uxore, superfuere honori tuo; paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

46. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas nec lugeri nec plangi fas est. Admiratione te potius et immortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, imitando colamus: is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur, non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere finguntur, sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam

materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum; nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobiles oblivio obruet: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

CORNELII TACITI
DIALOGUS
DE ORATORIBUS.

BREVIARIUM.

Cap. 1. Postquam Justus Fabius saepe ex auctore dialogi requisiverat, cur non amplius vigeat eloquentiae studium, hic non suam proferre sententiam statuit, sed repetere sermonem hominum disertissimorum, quos eandem quaestionem pertractantes admodum juvenis audivisset. 2, 3. Hi sunt Curiatius Maternus, ex oratore poeta, M. Aper et Julius Secundus, celeberrima tum fori ingenia, qui mirantur, quod Maternus fastiditis orationum causarumque studiis omne nunc tempus circa tragoedias consumat, quarum tamen recitatione offendisse potentium animos dicatur. 4. Hic poesin a se nunc coli profitetur, quia sanctior haec et augustior sit eloquentia.

5–8. Hinc oritur disceptatio, utrum praestantior sit ars oratoria an poetica. Aper magnis laudibus praedicat oratoriae artis utilitatem, voluptatem, dignitatem, ac provocat ad exempla Marcelli Eprii et Crispi Vibii. 9, 10. Poetarum contra nullam esse dignitatem dicit et utilitatem; voluptatem vero brevem, laudem inanem, infructuosam multisque recitationum molestiis ac sumptibus partam. Iis in solitudinem secedendum, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare velint, et mediocres nemini notos, bonos paucis; studium denique illorum non minus obnoxium offensae

quam oratorum. Itaque Materno, ad altiorem eloquentiam et summa nato, non subsistendum esse in levioribus, sed ab auditoriis et theatris in forum et ad causas veraque proelia redeundum.

11–13. Quae cum Aper dixisset acrius et intento ore, remissus et subridens respondet Maternus; poeticae studio majorem parari securitatem et gloriam, quam forensi labore et strepitu litigantium aut comitatuum salutationumque frequentia; puriorem vero voluptatem securo et secreto secessu in nemora et lucos, quam lucrosa et sanguinante in foro eloquentia, quae non, ut poesis, aureo, sed ferreo saeculo et propter malos hominum mores in locum teli reperta sit. Dulcem esse poetarum vitam et curarum expertem, anxiam vero oratorum, qui semper vel timeant vel timeantur.

14. Colloquio supervenit Vipstanus Messala, admirator veterum temporum oratorumque, recentiorum contemptor. 15–17. Hinc Aper, saeculi sui novorumque rhetorum patronus, accuratius definiendum censet, quinam oratores vocandi sint antiqui: utrum Ulixes tantum et Nestor et Menenius Agrippa, an et jam Demosthenes et Hyperides, inter quorum et hoc aevum non multo plures quam CCCC anni intersint, aut Cicero, Caesar, Caelius, Calvus, Brutus, Asinius et Messala, qui vix unius hominis aetate sint priores. 18. Formas autem et genera dicendi cum temporibus ac diversitate aurium mutari monet, et vitio malignitatis humanae semper laudari vetera, praesentia fastidiri. 19, 20. Cassium Severum a multis velut terminum antiquitatis constitui primumque flexisse ab illa vetere atque directa dicendi via, non infirmitate ingenii nec inscitia litterarum, sed judicio et intellectu. Olim in honore fuisse longa principia et narrationes, divisionum argumentorumque multorum ostentationem et philosophica orationi inserta; nunc ab oratore laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis poeticumque decorem exigi. 21, 22. In orationibus Calvi quoque, Caelii, Caesaris, Asinii, Corvini ipsiusque Ciceronis multa deprehendi antiquitatis vitia, sordes ver-

borum, hiantem compositionem et sensus inconditos, quae tamen sola mirentur perversi imitatores. 23. Iniquos igitur judices esse, qui antiqua tantum efferant laudibus rhetorumque recentiorum commentarios fastidiant. Postremo Messalae et Materni et Secundi virtutes praedicat eosque ad illustrandum saeculum suum pulcherrimo dicendi genere exhortatur, cum videat eos, quae vera sit eloquentiae ars, laetissima quaeque antiquorum imitari ac gravitati sensuum nitorem cultumque verborum miscere.

24. Tum Maternus admonet Messalam ut, missa antiquorum laudatione, qui ea non indigeant, memor potius promissi causas expromat, cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserit aetas recentior. 25. Hic primum docet, quinam antiqui sint appellandi; plures etiam dicendi formas isdem saeculis fuisse et singulares Calvi, Asinii aliorumque virtutes: quod vero se invicem obtrectaverint, non esse oratorum vitium, sed hominum: 26, gravitatem denique et cultum oratorium impetumque veterum longe praeferendum esse verborum lasciviae, levitati sententiarum et compositionis licentiae, in quibus sibi placeant recentiores.

27–29. Materno iterum rogante Messala transit ad explicandas causas corruptae eloquentiae, primas vero et praecipuas putat desidiam juventutis et negligentiam parentum et inscientiam praecipientium et moris antiqui oblivionem. Liberos enim non jam educari in gremio ac sinu castae matris aut a propinqua majore natu, sed Graeculae ancillae delegari et servis, a quibus teneri eorum animi fabulis, erroribus vitiisque imbuantur. 30–33. Eorundem ingenium non, ut quondam, severa disciplina et infinito labore et quotidiana meditatione et in omni genere studiorum exercitationibus formari atque subigi, sed in pueritia et juventute nihil disci, quod usum habeat. Hinc antiquam eloquentiam ex omnium rerum scientia pluribusque artibus exundasse et oratorem potuisse de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et varie et ad persuadendum apte dicere; horum vero temporum disertos, aridis rhetorum praeceptis

artificiisque sordidissimis contentos, grammatices, legum et philosophiae ignaros esse.

34, 35. Materno deinde hortante Messala progreditur ad aliam corruptae eloquentiae causam, ad eximiam antiquorum oratorum et perversam recentiorum exercitationem. Juvenes dicit, imbutos jam domestica disciplina, honestis studiis refertos ac bene praeparatos, a patre olim vel propinquis fuisse deductos ad principes oratorum, quos sectati in judiciis, foro contionibusque pugnare in ipsa veluti arena et acie didicissent; at nunc educatione depravatos, inscios ac torpentes transire in rhetorum scholas, in quibus duo materiarum genera, suasoriae et controversiae, tractentur, nec facile dixeris, utrumne locus ipse an genus studiorum an condiscipuli plus mali ingeniis afferant.

Hic Messalae sermo mutilus est: eum statim excepisse videtur sermo Materni, internis corruptae eloquentiae causis externas adnectentis has:

36, 37. (1) Uberiorem ad dicendum materiam fuisse oratoribus antiquis, splendorem rerum et magnitudinem causarum, leges rogandas et populare nomen, contiones magistratuum, accusationes potentium reorum et assignatas etiam domibus inimicitias, procerum factiones et assidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. (2) Majora isdem praemia fuisse proposita, faciliores ad summos honores aditus eloquentia patefaciendos, plus apud principes et magistratus provinciales gratiae, apud patres auctoritatis, apud plebem notitiae ac nominis, clientelas exterarum nationum, praeturas et consulatus. 38–40. (3) Formam et consuetudinem veterum judiciorum oratoribus favisse, causas in foro, non in auditoriis tabulariisve explicatas, liberum et dicendi et comperendinandi tempus, clamorem et plausum et studia certantis populi, reos concursu totius civitatis et accusatos et defensos, contiones assiduas et datum jus potentissimum quemque vexandi. 40, 41. Neque tamen propterea laudandam censet Maternus valentiorem eloquentiam, quod licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocent, alumna sit et comes seditionum et effrenati populi

incitamentum. Eam quidem vigere dicit in civitatibus, quae discordiis et partibus se ipsae conficiant, sed in quietis ac bene constitutis non opus esse tali eloquentia longisve in senatu sententiis et multis apud populum contionibus: multo minus in re publica, in qua non imperiti et multi deliberent, sed sapientissimus et unus. Melius esse non queri quam vindicari, et si inveniretur aliqua civitas, in qua nemo peccet, supervacaneum fore inter innocentes et mores bonos et in obsequium regentis paratos oratorem sicut inter sanos medicum. Itaque non dolendum, quod minor nunc oratorum obscuriorque gloria sit, sed utendum potius bonis sui cuique saeculi citra obtrectationem alterius.

42. Dissolvitur colloquium. (Habitum fingitur anno u. 828, p. Ch. 75.)

1. Saepe ex me requiris, Juste Fabi, cur, cum priora saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat; neque enim ita appellamus nisi antiquos: horum autem temporum diserti causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur. Cui percontationi tuae respondere et tam magnae quaestionis pondus excipere, ut aut de ingeniis nostris male existimandum *sit*, si idem adsequi non possumus, aut de judiciis, si nolumus, vix hercule auderem, si mihi mea sententia proferenda ac non disertissimorum, ut nostris temporibus, hominum sermo repetendus esset, quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes

juvenis admodum audivi. Ita non ingenio sed memoria et recordatione opus est, ut quae a praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter accepi, cum singuli diversas, vel easdem, sed probabiles causas adferrent, dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent, isdem nunc numeris isdemque rationibus persequar, servato ordine disputationis. Neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem susciperet, ac multum vexata et irrisa vetustate nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferret.

2. Nam postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset, eaque de re per urbem frequens sermo haberetur, venerunt ad eum Marcus Aper et Julius Secundus, celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri, quos ego in judiciis non utrosque modo studiose audiebam, sed domi quoque et in publico adsectabar mira studiorum cupiditate et quodam ardore juvenili, ut fabulas quoque eorum et disputationes et arcana semotae dictionis penitus exciperem, quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur, nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione et litteris famam eloquentiae consecutum. Nam et Secundo purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens sermo non defuit, et Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat, tamquam majorem industriae

et laboris gloriam habiturus, si ingenium ejus nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur.

3. Igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsumque quem pridie recitaverat librum intra manus habentem deprehendimus.

Tum Secundus, 'Nihilne te,' inquit, 'Materne, fabulae malignorum terrent, quo minus offensas Catonis tui ames? An ideo librum istum apprehendisti, ut diligentius retractares, et sublatis si qua pravae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem non quidem meliorem sed tamen securiorem?'

Tum ille, 'Leges,' inquit, 'quid Maternus sibi debuerit, et agnosces quae audisti. Quod si qua omisit Cato, sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoediam disposui jam et intra me ipse formavi. Atque ideo maturare libri hujus editionem festino, ut dimissa priore cura novae cogitationi toto pectore incumbam.'

'Adeo te tragoediae istae non satiant,' inquit Aper, 'quo minus omissis orationum et causarum studiis omne tempus modo circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa Thyestem consumas, cum te tot amicorum causae, tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum vocent, quibus vix suffeceris, etiam si non novum tibi ipse negotium importasses, Domitium et Catonem, id est, nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina Graecorum fabulis aggregares.'

4. Et Maternus: 'Perturbarer hac tua severitate,

nisi frequens et assidua nobis contentio jam prope in consuetudinem vertisset. Nam nec tu agitare et insequi poetas intermittis, et ego, cui desidiam advocationum objicis, quotidianum hoc patrocinium defendendae adversus te poeticae exerceo. Quo laetor magis oblatum nobis judicem, qui me vel in futurum vetet versus facere, vel, quod jam pridem opto, sua quoque auctoritate compellat, ut omissis forensium causarum angustiis, in quibus mihi satis superque sudatum est, sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam colam.'

5. 'Ego vero,' inquit Secundus, 'antequam me judicem Aper recuset, faciam quod probi et moderati judices solent, ut in iis cognitionibus *se* excusent, in quibus manifestum est, alteram apud eos partem gratia praevalere. Quis enim nescit neminem mihi conjunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et assiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam? Porro si poetica accusatur, non alium video reum locupletiorem.'

'Securus sit,' inquit Aper, 'et Saleius Bassus et quisquis alius studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit. Ego enim, quatenus arbitrum litis hujus inveni, non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi, sed ipsum solum apud te coarguam, quod natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam, qua parere simul et tueri amicitias, adsciscere necessitudines, complecti provincias possit, omittit stu-

dium, quo non aliud in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosius vel ad dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam pulchrius vel ad totius imperii atque omnium gentium notitiam illustrius excogitari potest. Nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra dirigenda sunt, quid est utilius quam eam exercere artem, qua semper armatus praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem ultro feras, ipse securus et quadam velut perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus? Cujus vis et utilitas, rebus prospere fluentibus, aliorum perfugio et tutela intelligitur: sin proprium periculum increpuit, non hercule lorica et gladius in acie firmius munimentum quam reo et periclitanti eloquentia, praesidium simul ac telum, quo propugnare pariter et incessere vel in judicio sive in senatu sive apud principem possis. Quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam opposuit? Qua accinctus et minax disertam quidem, sed inexercitatam et ejus modi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit. Plura de utilitate non dico, cui parti minime contradicturum Maternum meum arbitror.

6. Ad voluptatem oratoriae eloquentiae transeo, cujus jucunditas non uno aliquo momento sed omnibus prope diebus ac prope omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim dulcius libero et ingenuo animo et ad voluptates honestas nato quam videre plenam semper

et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum? Idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non officii alicujus administrationi, sed sibi ipsi dari? Ipsos quin immo orbos et locupletes et potentes venire plerumque ad juvenem et pauperem, ut aut sua aut amicorum discrimina commendent. Ullane tanta ingentium opum ac magnae potentiae voluptas quam spectare homines veteres et senes et totius orbis gratia subnixos in summa rerum omnium abundantia confitentes, id quod optimum sit se non habere? Jam vero qui togatorum comitatus et egressus! quae in publico species! quae in judiciis veneratio! quod gaudium consurgendi adsistendique inter tacentes et in unum conversos! coire populum et circumfundi coronam et accipere adfectum quemcumque orator induerit! vulgata dicentium gaudia et imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo: illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota majora sunt. Sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem, est quoddam sicut ipsius dictionis, ita gaudii pondus et constantia; sive novam et recentem curam non sine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipsa sollicitudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati. Sed extemporalis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis vel praecipua jucunditas est; nam in ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quamquam alia diu serantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur.

7. Equidem, ut de me ipse fatear, non eum diem

laetiorem egi, quo mihi latus clavus oblatus est, vel quo homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus quaesturam aut tribunatum aut praeturam accepi, quam eos, quibus mihi, pro mediocritate hujus quantulaecumque in dicendo facultatis, aut reum prospere defendere aut apud centumviros causam aliquam feliciter orare aut apud principem ipsos illos libertos et procuratores principum tueri et defendere datur. Tum mihi supra tribunatus et praeturas et consulatus ascendere videor, tum habere quod, si non in animo oritur, nec codicillis datur nec cum gratia venit. Quid? fama et laus cujus artis cum oratorum gloria comparanda est? Qui tam illustres in urbe non solum apud negotiosos et rebus intentos, sed etiam apud vacuos et adolescentes, quibus modo recta indoles est et bona spes sui? Quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis ingerunt? Quos saepius vulgus quoque imperitum et tunicatus hic populus transeuntes nomine vocat et digito demonstrat? Advenae quoque et peregrini jam in municipiis et coloniis suis auditos, cum primum urbem attigerunt, requirunt ac velut agnoscere concupiscunt.

8. Ausim contendere Marcellum hunc Eprium, de quo modo locutus sum, et Crispum Vibium (libentius enim novis et recentibus quam remotis et obliteratis exemplis utor) non minus *notos* esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur. Nec hoc illi alterive ter milies sestertium

praestat, quamquam ad has ipsas opes possunt videri eloquentiae beneficio venisse, *sed* ipsa eloquentia; cujus numen et caelestis vis multa quidem omnibus saeculis exempla edidit, ad quam usque fortunam homines ingenii viribus pervenerint, sed haec, ut supra dixi, proxima et quae non auditu cognoscenda, sed oculis spectanda habemus. Nam quo sordidius et abjectius nati sunt, quoque notabilior paupertas et angustiae rerum nascentes eos circumsteterunt, eo clariora et ad demonstrandam oratoriae eloquentiae utilitatem illustriora exempla sunt, quod sine commendatione natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuter moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos jam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac, donec libuit, principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta atque ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia diliguntur, quia Vespasianus, venerabilis senex et patientissimus veri, bene intelligit ceteros quidem amicos suos iis niti, quae ab ipso acceperint quaeque ipsi accumulare et in alios congerere promptum sit, Marcellum autem et Crispum attulisse ad amicitiam suam quod non a principe acceperint nec accipi possit. Minimum inter tot ac tanta locum obtinent imagines ac tituli et statuae, quae neque ipsa tamen negliguntur, tam hercule quam divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat. His igitur et honoribus et ornamentis et facultatibus refertas domos eorum videmus,

qui se ab ineunte adolescentia causis forensibus et oratorio studio dederunt.

9. Nam carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio), neque dignitatem ullam auctoribus suis conciliant neque utilitates alunt; voluptatem autem brevem, laudem inanem et infructuosam consequuntur. Licet haec ipsa et quae deinceps dicturus sum aures tuae, Materne, respuant, cui bono est, si apud te Agamemnon aut Jason diserte loquitur? Quis ideo domum defensus et tibi obligatus redit? Quis Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem, deducit aut salutat aut prosequitur? Nempe, si amicus ejus, si propinquus, si denique ipse in aliquod negotium inciderit, ad hunc Secundum recurret aut ad te, Materne, non quia poeta es, neque ut pro eo versus facias; hi enim Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et jucundi, quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut cum toto anno, per omnes dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excudit et elucubravit, rogare ultro et ambire cogatur, ut sint qui dignentur audire, et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit; et ut beatissimus recitationem ejus eventus prosequatur, omnis illa laus intra unum aut alterum diem, velut in herba vel flore praecepta, ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem, nec aut amicitiam inde

refert aut clientelam aut mansurum in animo cujusquam beneficium, sed clamorem vagum et voces inanes et gaudium volucre. Laudavimus nuper ut miram et eximiam Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset. Pulchrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri: quanto tamen pulchrius, si ita res familiaris exigat, se ipsum colere, suum genium propitiare, suam experiri liberalitatem? Adjice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, relinquenda conversatio amicorum et jucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia et, ut ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est, in solitudinem secedendum est.

10. Ne opinio quidem et fama, cui soli serviunt et quod unum esse pretium laboris sui fatentur, aeque poetas quam oratores sequitur, quoniam mediocres poetas nemo novit, bonos pauci. Quando enim rarissimarum recitationum fama in totam urbem penetrat? nedum ut per tot provincias innotescat. Quotus quisque, cum ex Hispania vel Asia, ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar, in urbem venit, Saleium Bassum requirit? Atque adeo si quis requirit, ut semel vidit, transit et contentus est, ut si picturam aliquam vel statuam vidisset. Neque hunc meum sermonem sic accipi volo, tamquam eos, quibus natura sua oratorium ingenium denegavit, deterream a carminibus, si modo in hac studiorum parte oblectare otium et nomen inserere possunt famae. Ego vero omnem eloquentiam

omnesque ejus partes sacras et venerabiles puto, nec solum cothurnum vestrum aut heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque jucunditatem et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem et epigrammatum lusus et quamcumque aliam speciem eloquentia habet, anteponendam ceteris aliarum artium studiis credo. Sed tecum mihi, Materne, res est, quod, cum natura tua in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferat, errare mavis et summa adepturus in levioribus subsistis. Ut si in Graecia natus esses, ubi ludicras quoque artes exercere honestum est, ac tibi Nicostrati robur ac vires di dedissent, non paterer immanes illos et ad pugnam natos lacertos levitate jaculi aut jactu disci vanescere, sic nunc te ab auditoriis et theatris in forum et ad causas et ad vera proelia voco, cum praesertim ne ad illud quidem confugere possis, quod plerisque patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offendere poetarum quam oratorum studium. Effervescit enim vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae, nec pro amico aliquo, sed, quod periculosius est, pro Catone offendis. Nec excusatur offensa necessitudine officii aut fide advocationis aut fortuitae ac subitae dictionis impetu: meditatus videris etiam elegisse personam notabilem et cum auctoritate dicturam. Sentio quid responderi possit: hinc ingentes assensus, haec in ipsis auditoriis praecipue laudari et mox omnium sermonibus ferri. Tolle igitur quietis et securitatis excusationem, cum tibi sumas adversarium superiorem. Nobis satis sit pri-

vatas et nostri saeculi controversias tueri, in quibus expressis si quando necesse sit pro periclitante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas excusata.'

11. Quae cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore, remissus et subridens Maternus, 'Parantem me,' inquit, 'non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat (fore enim arbitrabar ut a laudatione eorum digressus detrectaret poetas atque carminum studium prosterneret) arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo iis qui causas agere non possent, ut versus facerent. Ego autem sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortasse possum, ita recitatione tragoediarum et ingredi famam auspicatus sum, cum quidem in Nerone improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii potentiam fregi, et hodie si quid in nobis notitiae ac nominis est, magis arbitror carminum quam orationum gloria partum. Ac jam me dejungere a forensi labore constitui, nec comitatus istos et egressus aut frequentiam salutationum concupisco, non magis quam aera et imagines, quae etiam me nolente in domum meam irrumpunt. Nam statum hucusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tueor quam eloquentia, nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint.

12. Nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum, quod Aper increpabat, tantam mihi adferunt voluptatem, ut inter praecipuos carminum fructus numerem, quod

non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas reorum componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia, fruiturque sedibus sacris. Haec eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque commendata mortalibus in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit; sic oracula loquebantur. Nam lucrosae hujus et sanguinantis eloquentiae usus recens et malis moribus natus, atque, ut tu dicebas, Aper, in locum teli repertus. Ceterum felix illud et, ut more nostro loquar, aureum saeculum et oratorum et criminum inops, poetis et vatibus abundabat, qui bene facta canerent, non qui male admissa defenderent. Nec ullis aut gloria major aut augustior honor, primum apud deos, quorum proferre responsa et interesse epulis ferebantur, deinde apud illos dis genitos sacrosque reges, inter quos neminem causidicorum, sed Orphea et Linum ac, si introspicere altius velis, ipsum Apollinem accepimus. Vel si haec fabulosa nimis et composita videantur, illud certe mihi concedes, Aper, non minorem honorem Homero quam Demostheni apud posteros, nec angustioribus terminis famam Euripidis aut Sophoclis quam Lysiae aut Hyperidis includi. Plures hodie reperies qui Ciceronis gloriam quam qui Virgilii detrectent; nec ullus Asinii aut Messalae liber tam illustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes.

13. Ac ne fortunam quidem vatum et illud felix

contubernium comparare timuerim cum inquieta et anxia oratorum vita. Licet illos certamina et pericula sua ad consulatus evexerint; malo securum et quietum Virgilii secessum, in quo tamen neque apud divum Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum notitia. Testes Augusti epistolae, testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro Virgilii versibus surrexit universus et forte praesentem spectantemque Virgilium veneratus est sic quasi Augustum. Ne nostris quidem temporibus Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio vel dignitate vitae vel perpetuitate famae cesserit. Nam Crispus iste et Marcellus, ad quorum exempla me vocas, quid habent in hac sua fortuna concupiscendum? Quod timent, an quod timentur? Quod, cum quotidie aliquid rogentur, ii quibus praestant indignantur? Quod alligati adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi? Quae haec summa eorum potentia est? Tantum posse liberti solent. Me vero dulces, ut Virgilius ait, Musae, remotum a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate quotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi, in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant; nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem trepidus experiar; non me fremitus salutantium nec anhelans libertus excitet, nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam, nec plus habeam quam quod possim cui velim relinquere, quandoque fatalis et meus dies veniet, statuarque tumulo non maestus et atrox, sed

hilaris et coronatus, et pro memoria mei nec consulat quisquam nec roget.'

14. Vixdum finierat Maternus, concitatus et velut instinctus, cum Vipstanus Messala cubiculum ejus ingressus est, suspicatusque ex ipsa intentione singulorum altiorem inter eos esse sermonem, 'Num parum tempestivus,' inquit, 'interveni secretum consilium et causae alicujus meditationem tractantibus?'

'Minime, minime,' inquit Secundus, 'atque adeo vellem maturius intervenisses; delectasset enim te et Apri nostri accuratissimus sermo, cum Maternum ut omne ingenium ac studium suum ad causas agendas converteret exhortatus est, et Materni pro carminibus suis laeta, utque poetas defendi decebat, audentior et poetarum quam oratorum similior oratio.'

'Me vero,' inquit, 'et sermo ipse infinita voluptate adfecisset, atque id ipsum delectat, quod vos, viri optimi et temporum nostrorum oratores, non forensibus tantum negotiis et declamatorio studio ingenia vestra exercetis, sed ejus modi etiam disputationes adsumitis, quae et ingenium alunt et eruditionis ac litterarum jucundissimum oblectamentum cum vobis, qui ista disputatis, adferunt, tum etiam iis, ad quorum aures pervenerint. Itaque hercle non minus probari video in te, Secunde, quod Julii Asiatici vitam componendo spem hominibus fecisti plurium ejus modi librorum, quam in Apro, quod nondum ab scholasticis controversiis recessit et otium suum mavult novo-

rum rhetorum more quam veterum oratorum consumere.'

15. Tum Aper: 'Non desinis, Messala, vetera tantum et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia irridere atque contemnere? Nam hunc tuum sermonem saepe excepi, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes *prae* antiquis, eo, credo, audacius, quod malignitatis opinionem non verebaris, cum eam gloriam, quam tibi alii concedunt, ipse tibi denegares.'

'Neque illius,' inquit, 'sermonis mei poenitentiam ago, neque aut Secundum aut Maternum aut te ipsum, Aper, quamquam interdum in contrarium disputes, aliter sentire credo. Ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum, ut causas hujus infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat, quas mecum ipse plerumque inquiro. Et quod quibusdam solatio est, mihi auget quaestionem, quia video etiam Graiis accidisse, ut longius absit Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos ille Nicetes, et si quis alius Ephesum vel Mytilenas concentu scholasticorum et clamoribus quatit, quam Afer aut Africanus aut vos ipsi a Cicerone aut ab Asinio recessistis.'

16. 'Magnam,' inquit Secundus, 'et dignam tractatu quaestionem movisti. Sed quis eam justius explicabit quam tu, ad cujus summam eruditionem et

praestantissimum ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit?'

Et Messala, 'Aperiam,' inquit, 'cogitationes meas, si illud a vobis ante impetravero, ut vos quoque sermonem hunc nostrum adjuvetis.'

'Pro duobus,' inquit Maternus, 'promitto; nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes, quas intellexerimus te non tam omisisse quam nobis reliquisse. Aprum enim solere dissentire et tu paulo ante dixisti, et ipse satis manifestus est jam dudum in contrarium accingi nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam.'

'Non enim,' inquit Aper, 'inauditum et indefensum saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione damnari: sed hoc primum interrogabo, quos vocetis antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem significatione ista determinetis. Ego enim cum audio antiquos, quosdam veteres et olim natos intelligo; ac mihi versantur ante oculos Ulixes ac Nestor, quorum aetas mille fere et trecentis annis saeculum nostrum antecedit: vos autem Demosthenem et Hyperidem profertis, quos satis constat Philippi et Alexandri temporibus floruisse, ita tamen ut utrique superstites essent; ex quo apparet non multo plures quam trecentos annos interesse inter nostram et Demosthenis aetatem. Quod spatium temporis si ad infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, fortasse longum videatur; si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum immensi hujus aevi, per-

quam breve et in proximo est. Nam si, ut Cicero in Hortensio scribit, is est magnus et verus annus, quo eadem positio caeli siderumque, quae cum maxime est, rursum exsistet, isque annus horum, quos nos vocamus, annorum duodecim milia nongentos quinquaginta quattuor complectitur, incipit Demosthenes vester, quem vos veterem et antiquum fingitis, non solum eodem anno quo nos, sed fere eodem mense exstitisse.

17. Sed transeo ad Latinos oratores, in quibus non Menenium, ut puto, Agrippam, qui potest videri antiquus, nostrorum temporum disertis anteponere soletis, sed Ciceronem et Caesarem et Caelium et Calvum et Brutum et Asinium et Messalam: quos quid antiquis temporibus potius adscribatis quam nostris, non video. Nam ut de Cicerone ipso loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulibus, ut Tiro libertus ejus scripsit, septimo idus *Decembres* occisus est, quo anno divus Augustus in locum Pansae et Hirtii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecit. Statue sex et quinquaginta annos, quibus mox divus Augustus rem publicam rexit; adjice Tiberii tres et viginti, et prope quadriennium Gai, ac bis quaternos denos Claudii et Neronis annos, atque illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitellii longum et unum annum, ac sextam jam felicis hujus principatus stationem, qua Vespasianus rem publicam fovet: centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas. Nam ipse ego in

Britannia vidi senem, qui se fateretur ei pugnae interfuisse, qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanniae arcere litoribus et pellere aggressi sunt. Ita si eum, qui armatus C. Caesari restitit, vel captivitas vel voluntas vel fatum aliquod in urbem pertraxisset, idem Caesarem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit et nostris quoque actionibus interesse. Proximo quidem congiario ipsi vidistis plerosque senes, qui se a divo quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepisse congiarium narrabant. Ex quo colligi potest et Corvinum ab illis et Asinium audiri potuisse; nam Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatum, Asinius paene ad extremum duravit: ne dividatis saeculum, et antiquos ac veteres vocetis oratores, quos eorundem hominum aures agnoscere ac velut conjungere et copulare potuerunt.

18. Haec ideo praedixi, ut si qua ex horum oratorum fama gloriaque laus temporibus adquiritur, eandem docerem in medio sitam et propiorem nobis quam Servio Galbae aut Gaio Carboni quosque alios merito antiquos vocaverimus; sunt enim horridi et impoliti et rudes et informes, et quos utinam nulla parte imitatus esset Calvus vester aut Caelius aut ipse Cicero. Agere enim fortius jam et audentius volo, si illud ante praedixero, mutari cum temporibus formas quoque et genera dicendi. Sic Catoni seni comparatus C. Gracchus plenior et uberior, sic Graccho politior et ornatior Crassus, sic utroque distinctior

et urbanior et altior Cicero, Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus. Nec quaero quis disertissimus: hoc interim probasse contentus sum, non esse unum eloquentiae vultum, sed in illis quoque quos vocatis antiquos plures species deprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est, vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse. Num dubitamus inventos qui prae Catone Appium Caecum magis mirarentur? Satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus, sed supra modum exsultans et superfluens et parum Atticus videretur. Legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistolas, ex quibus facile est deprehendere Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et aridum; Brutum autem otiosum atque dijunctum: rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut ipsius verbis utar, tamquam fractum atque elumbem. Si me interrogas, omnes mihi videntur verum dixisse: sed mox ad singulos veniam; nunc mihi cum universis negotium est.

19. Nam quatenus antiquorum admiratores hunc velut terminum antiquitatis constituere solent, usque ad Cassium Severum, quem primum adfirmant flexisse ab illa vetere atque directa dicendi via, non infirmitate ingenii nec inscitia litterarum transtulisse se ad illud dicendi genus contendo, sed judicio et intellectu.

Vidit namque, ut paulo ante dicebam, cum condicione temporum et diversitate aurium formam quoque et speciem orationis esse mutandam. Facile perferebat prior ille populus, ut imperitus et rudis, impeditissimarum orationum spatia, atque id ipsum laudabat, si dicendo quis diem eximeret. Jam vero longa principiorum praeparatio et narrationis alte repetita series et multarum divisionum ostentatio et mille argumentorum gradus, et quidquid aliud aridissimis Hermagorae et Apollodori libris praecipitur, in honore erat; quod si quis odoratus philosophiam videretur et ex ea locum aliquem orationi suae insereret, in caelum laudibus ferebatur. Nec mirum; erant enim haec nova et incognita, et ipsorum quoque oratorum paucissimi praecepta rhetorum aut philosophorum placita cognoverant. At hercule pervulgatis jam omnibus, cum vix in cortina quisquam adsistat quin elementis studiorum, etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus sit, novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est, per quae orator fastidium aurium effugiat, utique apud eos judices, qui vi et potestate, non jure aut legibus cognoscunt, nec accipiunt tempora, sed constituunt, nec exspectandum habent oratorem, dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere, sed saepe ultro admonent atque alio transgredientem revocant et festinare se testantur.

20. Quis nunc feret oratorem de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem? Qualia sunt fere principia

Corvini. Quis quinque in Verrem libros exspectabit? Quis de exceptione et formula perpetietur illa immensa volumina quae pro M. Tullio et Aulo Caecina legimus? Praecurrit hoc tempore judex dicentem, et nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore sententiarum aut nitore et cultu descriptionum invitatus et corruptus est, aversatur dicentem. Vulgus quoque adsistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor adsuevit jam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis; nec magis perfert in judiciis tristem et impexam antiquitatem, quam si quis in scena Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivii exprimere gestus velit. Jam vero juvenes et in ipsa studiorum incude positi, qui profectus sui causa oratores sectantur, non solum audire sed etiam referre domum aliquid illustre et dignum memoria volunt; traduntque in vicem ac saepe in colonias et provincias suas scribunt, sive sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effulsit, sive locus exquisito et poetico cultu enituit. Exigitur enim jam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Virgilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus. Horum igitur auribus et judiciis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum aetas pulchrior et ornatior exstitit. Neque ideo minus efficaces sunt orationes nostrae, quia ad aures judicantium cum voluptate perveniunt. Quid enim, si infirmiora horum temporum templa credas, quia non rudi caemento et informibus tegulis exstruuntur, sed marmore nitent et auro radiantur?

21. Equidem fateor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam antiquorum vix risum, in quibusdam autem vix somnum tenere. Nec unum de populo, *non Canutii aut Arii deformitatem memorabo*, quique alii in eodem valetudinario haec ossa et hanc maciem probant: ipse mihi Calvus, cum unum et viginti, ut puto, libros reliquerit, vix in una et altera oratiuncula satis facit. Nec dissentire ceteros ab hoc meo judicio video: quotus enim quisque Calvi in Asitium aut in Drusum legit? At hercule in omnium studiosorum manibus versantur accusationes quae in Vatinium inscribuntur, ac praecipue secunda ex iis oratio; est enim verbis ornata et sententiis, auribus judicum accommodata, ut scias ipsum quoque Calvum intellexisse quid melius esset, nec voluntatem ei, quo sublimius et cultius diceret, sed ingenium ac vires defuisse. Quid? ex Caelianis orationibus nempe eae placent, sive universae sive partes earum, in quibus nitorem et altitudinem horum temporum agnoscimus. Sordes autem illae verborum et hians compositio et inconditi sensus redolent antiquitatem; nec quemquam adeo antiquarium puto, ut Caelium ex ea parte laudet qua antiquus est. Concedamus sane C. Caesari, ut propter magnitudinem cogitationum et occupationes rerum minus in eloquentia effecerit quam divinum ejus ingenium postulabat, tam hercule quam Brutum philosophiae suae relinquamus: nam in orationibus minorem esse fama sua etiam admiratores

ejus fatentur: nisi forte quisquam aut Caesaris pro Decio Samnite aut Bruti pro Deiotaro rege ceterosque ejusdem lentitudinis ac teporis libros legit, nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur. Fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt. Asinius quoque, quamquam propioribus temporibus natus sit, videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse. Pacuvium certe et Accium non solum tragoediis sed etiam orationibus suis expressit: adeo durus et siccus est. Oratio autem, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est, in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat. Nolo Corvinum insequi, quia nec per ipsum stetit quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret: viderimus, in quantum judicio ejus vis aut animi aut ingenii suffecerit.

22. Ad Ciceronem venio, cui eadem pugna cum aequalibus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. Illi enim antiquos mirabantur, ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat; nec ulla re magis oratores aetatis ejusdem praecurrit quam judicio. Primus enim excoluit orationem, primus et verbis delectum adhibuit et compositioni artem, locos quoque laetiores attentavit et quasdam sententias invenit, utique in iis orationibus quas jam senior et juxta finem vitae com-

posuit, id est, postquam magis profecerat usuque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset. Nam priores ejus orationes non carent vitiis antiquitatis: lentus est in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otiosus circa excessus: tarde commovetur, raro incalescit; pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur. Nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis, et velut in rudi aedificio, firmus sane paries et duraturus, sed non satis expolitus et splendens. Ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familiae, non tantum eo volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet; non ea solum instrui supellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu ejus et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius libeat. Quaedam vero procul arceantur ut jam obliterata et olentia: nullum sit verbum velut rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tarda et inerti structura in morem annalium componantur; fugitet foedam et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet compositionem, nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet.

23. Nolo irridere "rotam Fortunae," et "jus Verrinum," et illud tertio quoque sensu in omnibus orationibus pro sententia positum, "esse videatur." Nam et haec invitus rettuli et plura omisi, quae tamen sola mirantur atque exprimunt ii qui se antiquos oratores vocant. Neminem nominabo, genus hominum significasse contentus: sed vobis utique versantur ante oculos

illi, qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Virgilio legunt, quibus eloquentia Aufidi Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet, qui rhetorum nostrorum commentarios fastidiunt, oderunt, Calvi mirantur. Quos more prisco apud judicem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigator perpetitur: adeo maesti et inculti illam ipsam, quam jactant, sanitatem non firmitate sed jejunio consequuntur. Porro ne in corpore quidem valetudinem medici probant quae nimia anxietate contingit; parum est aegrum non esse: fortem et laetum et alacrem volo. Prope abest ab infirmitate, in quo sola sanitas laudatur. Vos vero, disertissimi, ut potestis, ut facitis, illustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere dicendi. Nam et te, Messala, video laetissima quaeque antiquorum imitantem, et vos, Materne ac Secunde, ita gravitati sensuum nitorem et cultum verborum miscetis, ea electio inventionis, is ordo rerum, ea, quotiens causa poscit, ubertas, ea, quotiens permittit, brevitas, is compositionis decor, ea sententiarum planitas est, sic exprimitis adfectus, sic libertatem temperatis, ut etiam si nostra judicia malignitas et invidia tardaverit, verum de vobis dicturi sint posteri nostri.'

24. Quae cum Aper dixisset, 'Agnoscitisne,' inquit Maternus, 'vim et ardorem Apri nostri? Quo torrente, quo impetu saeculum nostrum defendit! Quam copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos! Quanto non solum

ingenio ac spiritu, sed etiam eruditione et arte ab ipsis mutuatus est per quae mox ipsos incesseret! Tuum tamen, Messala, promissum immutasse non debet. Neque enim defensorem antiquorum exigimus, nec quemquam nostrum, quamquam modo laudati sumus, iis quos insectatus est Aper comparamus. Ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit, sed more veteri et a vestris philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit sibi contradicendi partes. Igitur exprome nobis non laudationem antiquorum (satis enim illos fama sua laudat), sed causas cur tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus, cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem effici ratio temporum collegerit.'

25. Tum Messala: 'Sequar praescriptam a te, Materne, formam; neque enim diu contradicendum est Apro, qui primum, ut opinor, nominis controversiam movit, tamquam parum proprie antiqui vocarentur quos satis constat ante centum annos fuisse. Mihi autem de vocabulo pugna non est; sive illos antiquos sive majores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellet, dum modo in confesso sit eminentiorem illorum temporum eloquentiam fuisse. Ne illi quidem parti sermonis ejus repugno, quo minus fatear plures formas dicendi etiam isdem saeculis, nedum diversis exstitisse. Sed quo modo inter Atticos oratores primae Demostheni tribuuntur, proximum autem locum Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus obtinent, omnium autem concessu haec oratorum aetas maxime pro-

batur, sic apud nos Cicero quidem ceteros eorundem temporum disertos antecessit, Calvus autem et Asinius et Caesar et Caelius et Brutus suo jure et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur. Nec refert quod inter se specie differunt, cum genere consentiant. Adstrictior Calvus, numerosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero: omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentiae ferunt, ut si omnium pariter libros in manum sumpseris, scias, quamvis in diversis ingeniis, esse quandam judicii ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognationem. Nam quod in vicem se obtrectaverunt et sunt aliqua epistolis eorum inserta ex quibus mutua malignitas detegitur, non est oratorum vitium sed hominum. Nam et Calvum et Asinium et ipsum Ciceronem credo solitos et invidere et livere et ceteris humanae infirmitatis vitiis adfici: solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenue judicium animi sui detexisse. An ille Ciceroni invideret, qui mihi videtur ne Caesari quidem invidisse? Quod ad Ser. Galbam et C. Laelium attinet, et si quos alios antiquorum agitare non destitit, non exigit defensorem, cum fatear quaedam eloquentiae eorum ut nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae defuisse.

26. Ceterum si omisso optimo illo et perfectissimo genere eloquentiae eligenda sit forma dicendi, malim hercule C. Gracchi impetum aut L. Crassi maturitatem

quam calamistros Maecenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo melius est oratorem vel hirta toga induere quam fucatis et meretriciis vestibus insignire. Neque enim oratorius iste, immo hercule ne virilis quidem cultus est, quo plerique temporum nostrorum oratores ita utuntur, ut lascivia verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compositionis histrionales modos exprimant. Quodque vix auditu fas esse debeat, laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco plerique jactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos. Unde oritur illa foeda et praepostera, sed tamen frequens quibusdam exclamatio, ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur. Equidem non negaverim Cassium Severum, quem solum Aper noster nominare ausus est, si iis comparetur qui postea fuerunt, posse oratorem vocari, quamquam in magna parte librorum suorum plus vis habeat quam sanguinis. Primus enim contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus et studio feriendi plerumque dejectus, non pugnat sed rixatur. Ceterum, ut dixi, sequentibus comparatus et varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore multum ceteros superat, quorum neminem Aper nominare et velut in aciem educere sustinuit. Ego autem exspectabam, ut incusato Asinio et Caelio et Calvo aliud nobis agmen produceret, pluresque vel certe totidem nominaret, ex quibus alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari, singulis deinde

singulos opponeremus. Nunc detrectasse nominatim antiquos oratores contentus neminem sequentium laudare ausus est nisi in publicum et in commune, veritus credo, ne multos offenderet, si paucos excerpsisset. Quotus enim quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione fruitur, ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, sed plane post Gabinianum? At ego non verebor nominare singulos, quo facilius propositis exemplis appareat, quibus gradibus fracta sit et deminuta eloquentia.'

27. 'Appara te,' inquit Maternus, 'et potius exsolve promissum. Neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confesso est, sed causas exquirimus, quas te solitum tractare paulo ante *dixisti*, plane mitior et eloquentiae temporum nostrorum minus iratus, antequam te Aper offenderet majores tuos lacessendo.'

'Non sum,' inquit, 'offensus Apri illa disputatione; nam et vos offendi dedecebit, si quid forte aures vestras perstringat, cum sciatis hanc esse ejus modi sermonum legem, judicium animi citra damnum adfectus proferre.'

'Perge,' inquit Maternus, 'et cum de antiquis loquaris, utere antiqua libertate, a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia.'

28. Cui Messala, 'Non reconditas, Materne, causas requiris, nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro ignotas, etiam si mihi partes adsignatis pro-

ferendi in medium quae omnes sentimus. Quis enim ignorat et eloquentiam et ceteras artes descivisse ab illa vetere gloria non inopia hominum, sed desidia juventutis et negligentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et oblivione moris antiqui? Quae mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fusa, jam in provincias manant. Quamquam vestra vobis notiora sunt: ego de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitiis loquar, quae natos statim excipiunt et per singulos aetatis gradus cumulantur, si prius de severitate ac disciplina majorum circa educandos formandosque liberos pauca praedixero. Nam pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cella emptae nutricis sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cujus praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis. Eligebatur autem major aliqua natu propinqua, cujus probatis spectatisque moribus omnis ejusdem familiae suboles committeretur; coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur. Ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque puerorum sanctitate quadam ac verecundia temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Caesaris, sic Atiam Augusti matrem praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus. Quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta unius cujusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas, et sive ad rem militarem sive

ad juris scientiam sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret.

29. At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adjungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio accommodatus. Horum fabulis et erroribus teneri statim et rudes animi imbuuntur; nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat. Quin etiam ipsi parentes nec probitati neque modestiae parvulos adsuefaciunt, sed lasciviae et dicacitati, per quae paulatim impudentia irrepit et sui alienique contemptus. Jam vero propria et peculiaria hujus urbis vitia paene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia: quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? Quotum quemque invenies qui domi quicquam aliud loquatur? Quos alios adolescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? Ne praeceptores quidem ullas crebriores cum auditoribus suis fabulas habent; colligunt enim discipulos non severitate disciplinae nec ingenii experimento, sed ambitione salutationum et illecebris adulationis.

30. Transeo prima discentium elementa, in quibus et ipsis parum laboratur, nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitia vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumitur. Sed expetuntur quos rhetoras vocant; quorum

professio quando primum in hanc urbem introducta sit quamque nullam apud majores nostros auctoritatem habuerit, statim dicturus, referam necesse est animum ad eam disciplinam, qua usos esse eos oratores accepimus, quorum infinitus labor et quotidiana meditatio et in omni genere studiorum assiduae exercitationes ipsorum etiam continentur libris. Notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber qui Brutus inscribitur, in cujus extrema parte (nam prior commemorationem veterum oratorum habet) sua initia, suos gradus, suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: se apud Q. Mucium jus civile didicisse, apud Philonem Academicum, apud Diodotum Stoicum omnes philosophiae partes penitus hausisse; neque iis doctoribus contentum, quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat, Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrasse, ut omnem omnium artium varietatem complecteretur. Itaque hercule in libris Ciceronis deprehendere licet, non geometriae, non musicae, non grammaticae, non denique ullius artis ingenuae scientiam ei defuisse: ille dialecticae, subtilitatem, ille moralis partis utilitatem, ille rerum motus causasque cognoverat. Ita est enim, optimi viri, ita: ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia: neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator, qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere

pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

31. Hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficiendum intelligebant opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent, nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent, sed ut iis artibus pectus implerent, in quibus de bonis ac malis, de honesto et turpi, de justo et injusto disputatur; haec enim est oratori subjecta ad dicendum materia. Nam in judiciis fere de aequitate, in deliberationibus de honestate disserimus, ita ut plerumque haec in vicem misceantur: de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest, nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum et intellectum eorum quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis numerantur. Ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut facilius iram judicis vel instiget vel leniat, qui scit quid ira, promptius ad miserationem impellat, qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur. In his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud invidentes sive apud tristes sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum, et prout cujusque natura postulabit, adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum reposito. Sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse

operam dialecticae proficiet. Alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputationem paratos jam locos. Dabunt Academici pugnacitatem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon jucunditatem: ne Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas quasdam exclamationes adsumere iisque prout res poscit uti alienum erit oratori. Neque enim sapientem informamus neque Stoicorum artem, sed eum qui quasdam artes haurire, omnes libare debet. Ideoque et juris scientiam veteres oratores comprehendebant, et grammaticae, musicae et geometriae imbuebantur. Incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ac paene omnes, quibus juris notitia desideratur, pleraeque autem in quibus haec quoque scientia requiritur.

32. Nec quisquam respondeat sufficere ut ad tempus simplex quiddam et uniforme doceamur. Primum enim aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est, possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur. Deinde ipsa multarum artium scientia etiam aliud agentes nos ornat, atque ubi minime credas, eminet et excellit. Idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor sed etiam populus intelligit ac statim ita laude prosequitur, ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non posse aliter exsistere nec exstitisse umquam confirmo, nisi eum, qui tam-

quam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit. Quod adeo negligitur ab horum temporum disertis, ut in actionibus eorum hujus quoque quotidiani sermonis foeda ac pudenda vitia deprehendantur; ut ignorent leges, non teneant senatus consulta, jus civitatis ultro derideant, sapientiae vero studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformident, in paucissimos sensus et angustas sententias detrudant eloquentiam velut expulsam regno suo, ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine apparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur. Ergo hanc primam et praecipuam causam arbitror, cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus. Si testes desiderantur, quos potiores nominabo quam apud Graecos Demosthenem, quem studiosissimum Platonis auditorem fuisse memoriae proditum est? Et Cicero his, ut opinor, verbis refert, quidquid in eloquentia effecerit, id se non rhetorum *officinis*, sed Academiae spatiis consecutum. Sunt aliae causae, magnae et graves, quas a vobis aperiri aequum est, quoniam quidem ego jam meum munus explevi, et quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi, quos, si forte haec audiverint, certum habeo dicturos me, dum juris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse.'

33. Et Maternus, 'Mihi quidem,' inquit 'susceptum a te munus adeo peregisse nondum videris, ut inchoasse tantum et velut vestigia ac lineamenta quaedam ostendisse videaris. Nam quibus artibus instrui veteres oratores soliti sint dixisti, differentiamque nostrae desidiae et inscientiae adversus acerrima et fecundissima eorum studia demonstrasti: cetera exspecto, ut quem ad modum ex te didici, quid aut illi scirint aut nos nesciamus, ita hoc quoque cognoscam, quibus exercitationibus juvenes jam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint. Neque enim tantum arte et scientia sed longe magis facultate et *usu* eloquentiam contineri, nec tu puto abnues et hi significare vultu videntur.'

Deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnuissent, Messala quasi rursus incipiens: 'Quoniam initia et semina veteris eloquentiae satis demonstrasse videor, docendo quibus artibus antiqui oratores institui erudirique soliti sint, persequar nunc exercitationes eorum. Quamquam ipsis artibus inest exercitatio, nec quisquam percipere tot tam reconditas tamque varias res potest, nisi ut scientiae meditatio meditationi facultas, facultati usus eloquentiae accedat. Per quae colligitur eandem esse rationem et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis. Sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur isque scientiam ab exercitatione separat, illud certe concedet, instructum et plenum his artibus animum longe para-

tiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum, quae propriae esse oratorum videntur.

34. Ergo apud majores nostros juvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus jam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem, qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, hujus omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in judiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque exciperet et jurgiis interesset utque sic dixerim, pugnare in proelio disceret. Magnus ex hoc usus multumque constantiae, plurimum judicii juvenibus statim contingebat, in media luce studentibus atque inter ipsa discrimina, ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit, quo minus et judex respuat et adversarius exprobret, ipsi denique advocati aspernentur. Igitur vera statim et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur; et quamquam unum sequerentur, tamen omnes ejusdem aetatis patronos in plurimis et causis et judiciis cognoscebant; habebantque ipsius populi diversissimarum aurium copiam, ex qua facile deprehenderent quid in quoque vel probaretur vel displiceret. Ita nec praeceptor deerat, optimus quidem et electissimus, qui faciem eloquentiae, non imaginem praestaret, nec adversarii et aemuli ferro, non rudibus dimicantes, sed auditorium semper plenum, semper novum ex invidis et faventibus, ut nec bene *nec male* dicta dissimularentur. Scitis enim magnam illam et

duraturam eloquentiae famam non minus in diversis subselliis parari quam suis; inde quin immo constantius surgere, ibi fidelius corroborari. Atque hercule sub ejus modi praeceptoribus juvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator judiciorum, eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis, cui quotidie audienti notae leges, non novi judicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuetudo contionum, saepe cognitae populi aures, sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem, solus statim et unus cuicumque causae par erat. Nono decimo aetatis anno L. Crassus C. Carbonem, uno et vicesimo Caesar Dolabellam, altero et vicesimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insecuti sunt, quas hodie quoque cum admiratione legimus.

35. At nunc adolescentuli nostri deducuntur in scenam scholasticorum, qui rhetores vocantur, quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora exstitisse nec placuisse majoribus nostris ex eo manifestum est, quod Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, ludum impudentiae jussi sunt. Sed ut dicere institueram, deducuntur in scholas, *in* quibus non facile dixerim utrumne locus ipse an condiscipuli an genus studiorum plus mali ingeniis adferant. Nam in loco nihil reverentiae est, in quem nemo nisi aeque imperitus intrat; in condiscipulis nihil profectus, cum pueri inter pueros et adolescentuli inter adolescentulos pari

securitate et dicant et audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte contrariae. Nempe enim duo genera materiarum apud rhetoras tractantur, suasoriae et controversiae. Ex his suasoriae quidem, tamquam plane leviores et minus prudentiae exigentes, pueris delegantur; controversiae robustioribus adsignantur, quales, per fidem, et quam incredibiliter compositae! Sequitur autem ut materiae abhorrenti a veritate declamatio quoque adhibeatur. Sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia aut vitiatarum electiones aut pestilentiae remedia aut incesta matrum aut quidquid in schola quotidie agitur, in foro vel raro vel numquam, ingentibus verbis persequantur; cum ad veros judices ventum est, *juvenes, puerilibus institutis sine ulla privati publicique juris experientia per plures annos innutriti, nihil adferunt quod fori dignitatem deceat, aut clientium alat utilitates; at vitia, quae umbratici doctores iis infudere, irreverenter et temere explicant.*

36. *Unus Demosthenes solaque sua eloquentia armatus, adversus domesticos externosque hostes stat interritus; patriam a veterno revocat et novo libertatis amore succendit; Philippum eludit, artes ejus retegit, ei conflat odia. Quantis opus fuit eloquentiae fulgoribus, ut animos perstringeret! Quanta orationis vi, ut parata tot machinamenta subverteret! Quot illi subeunda pericula! At iis valescebat discriminibus; patriae caritate, servitii odio, libertatis aestu instinctus, certaque immortalitatis spe, quam jam praesentiscebat, animatus, nihil*

valebat nisi excelsum, nisi sublime, sine ullo privatae utilitatis studio, ob patriam tantum et publicam rem cogitare; nihil humile vel abjectum eloqui poterat. Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo clarescit. Eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit. Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt, quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus tantum quisque orator saperet quantum erranti populo persuaderi poterat. Hinc leges assiduae et populare nomen, hinc contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae, hinc procerum factiones et assidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. Quae singula etsi distrahebant rem publicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulare praemiis videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius honores adsequebatur, tanto magis in ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat. Hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatns vocare

ultro videbantur, hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent. Quin immo sibi persuaserant neminem sine eloquentia aut adsequi posse in civitate aut tueri conspicuum et eminentem locum. Nec mirum, cum etiam inviti ad populum producerentur, cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere, nisi qui ingenio et eloquentia sententiam suam tuerentur, cum in aliquam invidiam aut crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent, cum testimonia quoque in *judiciis* publicis non absentes nec per tabellam dare, sed coram et praesentes dicere cogerentur. Ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam necessitas accedebat, et quo modo disertum haberi pulchrum et gloriosum, sic contra mutum et elinguem videri deforme habebatur.

37. Ergo non minus rubore quam praemiis stimulabantur, ne clientulorum loco potius quam patronorum numerarentur, ne traditae a majoribus necessitudines ad alios transirent, ne tamquam inertes et non suffecturi honoribus aut non impetrarent aut impetratos male tuerentur. Nescio an venerint in manus vestras haec vetera, quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent et cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur, ac jam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistolarum composita et edita sunt. Ex his intelligi potest Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum non viribus modo et armis sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse; Lentulos et Metellos et Lucullos et Curiones

et ceteram procerum manum multum in his studiis operae curaeque posuisse, nec quemquam illis temporibus magnam potentiam sine aliqua eloquentia consecutum. His accedebat splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum, quae et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant. Nam multum interest, utrumne de furto aut formula et interdicto dicendum habeas, an de ambitu comitiorum, expilatis sociis et civibus trucidatis. Quae mala sicut non accidere melius est isque optimus civitatis status habendus est, in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent, ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant. Crescit enim cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et illustrem orationem efficere potest nisi qui causam parem invenit. Non, opinor, Demosthenem orationes illustrant quas adversus tutores suos composuit, nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quinctius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc illi famam circumdederunt: non quia tanti fuit rei publicae malos ferre cives, ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent, sed, ut subinde admoneo, quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui, quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus exsistit. Quis ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari? Plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt. Similis eloquentiae condicio. Nam quo saepius steterit tamquam in acie quoque plures et intulerit

ictus et exceperit quoque majores adversarios acrioresque pugnas sibi ipsa desumpserit, tanto altior et excelsior et illis nobilitata discriminibus in ore hominum agit, quorum ea natura est, ut secura velint.

38. Transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum judiciorum, quae etsi nunc aptior existimatur, eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat, in quo nemo intra paucissimas horas perorare cogebatur et liberae comperendinationes erant et modum dicendi sibi quisque sumebat et numerus neque dierum neque patronorum finiebatur. Primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud praetores gererentur; apud quos quanto majora negotia olim exerceri solita sint, quod majus argumentum est quam quod causae centumvirales, quae nunc primum obtinent locum, adeo splendore aliorum judiciorum obruebantur, ut neque Ciceronis neque Caesaris neque Bruti neque Caelii neque Calvi, non denique ullius magni oratoris liber apud centumviros dictus legatur, exceptis orationibus Asinii quae pro heredibus Urbiniae inscribuntur, ab ipso tamen Pollione mediis divi Augusti temporibus habitae, postquam longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et assidua senatus tranquillitas et maxime principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia pacaverat?

39. Parvum et ridiculum fortasse videbitur quod

dicturus sum, dicam tamen, vel ideo ut ridear. Quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiae attulisse paenulas istas, quibus adstricti et velut inclusi cum judicibus fabulamur? Quantum virium detraxisse orationi auditoria et tabularia credimus, in quibus jam fere plurimae causae explicantur? Nam quo modo nobiles equos cursus et spatia probant, sic est aliquis oratorum campus, per quem nisi liberi et soluti ferantur, debilitatur ac frangitur eloquentia. Ipsam quin immo curam et diligentis stili anxietatem contrariam experimur, quia saepe interrogat judex, quando incipias, et ex interrogatione ejus incipiendum est. Frequenter probationibus et testibus silentium patronus indicit. Unus inter haec dicenti aut alter adsistit, et res velut in solitudine agitur. Oratori autem clamore plausuque opus est et velut quodam theatro; qualia quotidie antiquis oratoribus contingebant, cum tot pariter ac tam nobiles forum coartarent, cum clientelae quoque ac tribus ac municipiorum etiam legationes ac pars Italiae periclitantibus adsisteret, cum in plerisque judiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid judicaretur. Satis constat C. Cornelium et M. Scaurum et T. Milonem et L. Bestiam et P. Vatinium concursu totius civitatis et accusatos et defensos, ut frigidissimos quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. Itaque hercule ejus modi libri exstant, ut ipsi quoque qui egerunt non aliis magis orationibus censeantur.

40. Jam vero contiones assiduae et datum jus potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitiarum gloria, cum se plurimi disertorum ne a Publio quidem Scipione aut Sulla aut Cn. Pompeio abstinerent, et ad incessendos principes viros, ut est natura invidiae, populi quoque ut histriones plausibus uterentur, quantum ardorem ingeniis, quas oratoribus faces admovebant! Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocabant, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine servitute, contumax, temeraria, arrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur. Quem enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem Cretensem accepimus? Quarum civitatum severissima disciplina et severissimae leges traduntur. Ne Macedonum quidem ac Persarum aut ullius gentis, quae certo imperio contenta fuerit, eloquentiam novimus. Rhodii quidam, plurimi Athenienses oratores exstiterunt, apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti, omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes poterant. Nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se partibus et dissensionibus et discordiis confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla in senatu concordia, nulla in judiciis moderatio, nulla superiorum reverentia, nullus magistratuum modus, tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam, sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas laetiores. Sed nec

tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit, ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

41. Sic quoque quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est. Quis enim nos advocat nisi aut nocens aut miser? Quod municipium in clientelam nostram venit nisi quod aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? Quam provinciam tuemur nisi spoliatam vexatamque? Atqui melius fuisset non queri quam vindicari. Quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus. Quo modo enim minimum usus minimumque profectus ars medentis habet in iis gentibus, quae firmissima valetudine ac saluberrimis corporibus utuntur, sic minor oratorum obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos. Quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis, cum optimi cito consentiant? Quid multis apud populum contionibus, cum de re publica non imperiti et multi deliberent, sed sapientissimus et unus? Quid voluntariis accusationibus, cum tam raro et tam parce peccetur? Quid invidiosis et excedentibus modum defensionibus, cum clementia cognoscentis obviam periclitantibus eat? Credite, optimi et in quantum opus est disertissimi viri, si aut vos prioribus saeculis aut illi quos miramur his nati essent, ac deus aliquis

vitas ac tempora vestra repente mutasset, nec vobis summa illa laus et gloria in eloquentia neque illis modus et temperamentum defuisset: nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur.'

42. Finierat Maternus, cum Messala: 'Erant quibus contradicerem, erant de quibus plura dici vellem, nisi jam dies esset exactus.' 'Fiet,' inquit Maternus, 'postea arbitratu tuo, et si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo sermone visa sunt, de iis rursus conferemus.' Ac simul adsurgens et Aprum complexus, 'Ego,' inquit, 'te poetis, Messala antiquariis criminabimur.' 'At ego vos rhetoribus et scholasticis,' inquit.

Cum arrisissent, discessimus.

NOTES

TO THE

GERMANIA, AGRICOLA, AND DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS.

A. U. C., *in the year of the city.*
B. C., *before Christ.*
Cf. (confer) = *compare.*
e. g. (exempli gratia) = *for example.*
etc. (et cetera) = *and so forth.*
i. e. (id est) = *that is.*
in fin. (in fine) = *at the end.*
lit. = *literally.*
MS. = *manuscript.*
MSS. = *manuscripts.*
p. (pagina) = *page.*
pp. (paginae) = *pages.*
sc. (scilicet) = *understand, supply.*

Editors and Commentators.

C.............. *Church and Brodribb.*
D.............. *Draeger.*
He............ *Haase.*
Hm........... *Halm.*
K.............. *Kritz.*
M.............. *Müllenhoff.*
P.............. *Pabst.*
Ri............ *Ritter.*
R.............. *Ruperti.*
S.............. *Smith.*
T.............. *Tyler.*
V.............. *Valpy.*
W............. *Wex.*

Grammars.

A..................... *Allen and Greenough's,* Revised Edition.
C..................... *Chase and Stuart's.*
G..................... *Gildersleeve's,* Revised Edition.
H..................... *Harkness's,* Revised Edition.
M..................... *Madvig's.*
Z..................... *Zumpt's.*

Crombie, — Crombie's Gymnasium sive Symbola Critica.
Dict. Antiqq., — *Smith's* Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.
Dict. Biog., — *Smith's* Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology.
Dict. Geog., — *Smith's* Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.
Hill, — Hill's Synonyms of the Latin Language.
Lex., — *Andrews's Freund's* Latin Lexicon.

NOTES

TO THE

GERMANIA.

INTRODUCTION.

The information contained in the treatise on the geography, manners, and nations of Germany, is exactly of that character which might be expected, considering the sources from which it was derived. Tacitus was never in Germany, and therefore his knowledge was collected from those who had visited it for the purposes either of war or commerce. Hence his geographical descriptions are often vague and inaccurate; a mixture of the marvellous shows that some of his narratives consist in mere travellers' tales, whilst the salient points and characteristic features of the national manners bear the impress of truth, and are supported by the well-known habits and institutions of the Teutonic nations.

He tells of their bards, and explains the etymology of the term by the word barditum, which signified the recitation of their songs. He hints at wild legends and dark superstitions with which the German imagination still loves to people the dark recesses of their forests. He describes their pure and unmixed race, and, consequently, the universal prevalence of the national features: blue eyes, red or sandy hair, and stalwart and gigantic frames. According to his account, their political constitutions were elective monarchies, but the monarch was always of noble birth, and his power limited; and all matters of importance were debated by the estate of the people. In the solemn permission accorded to a German youth to bear arms, and his investiture with lance and shield, is seen the origin of knighthood; and in the sanctity of the marriage tie, the chastity of the female sex, their social influence, and the respect paid to them, the rarity of adultery and its severe punishment, and the total absence of polygamy, we recognize the germ of the distinguishing characteristics of chivalry. They were hos-

pitable and constant to their hereditary friendships, but stern in perpetuating family feuds; passionately fond of gambling, and strict in their regard for debts of honor; inveterate drinkers, and their favorite potation was beer; they could not consult on important matters without a convivial meeting; if they quarrelled over their cups, they had recourse rarely to words, usually to blows. Their slaves were in the condition of serfs or villains, and paid to the lord a fixed rent in corn, or cattle, or manufactures. They reckoned their time by nights instead of days, just as we are accustomed to use the expressions se'nnight and fortnight.

After having sketched the manners and customs of the nation as a whole, he proceeds to treat of each tribe separately. In speaking of the Angli, who inhabited part of the modern territory of Sleswick-Holstein, and whose name is still retained in the district of Angeln, one word which he uses is an English one. The Angli, he says, together with the conterminous tribes, worship Herthus (Nerthus), *i. e.*, Terra. Even in these early times he mentions the naval superiority of the Suiones, who were the ancestors of the Normans and Sea-kings. With these he affirms that the continent of Europe terminates, and all beyond is a motionless and frozen ocean. Truth in these distant climes mingles with fable. Daylight continues after the sun has set, but a hissing noise is heard as his blazing orb plunges into the sea, and the forms of the gods, and the radiant glories which surround their heads, are visible. The list of marvels ends with fabulous beings, whose bodies and limbs are those of wild beasts, whilst their heads and faces are human. *Browne's Roman Classical Literature.*

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14 1–4. **Germania omnis** here is Germany proper, east of the Rhine, excluding the Roman provinces of Germania Superior (or Germania Prima) and Germania Inferior (or Germania Secunda), which lay on the left or west of the Rhine. For a clear view of this and other geographical allusions, see "Long's Classical Atlas," map of "Germania Magna with the Provinces on the Upper Danube." **2. Rheno**, which separates Germany from Gaul. **Danuvio** (Danubio), which separates Germany from Raetia (Rhaetia) and Pannonia. **Sarmătis**, occupying the country between the Vistula and the Don, and thus embracing a large portion of the present European Russia. **3. Montibus**, the Carpathian range. **Cetera** (*sc.* loca), *the other parts,* the rest. **Oceănus.** The German ocean (North sea) and the Baltic. Tacitus elsewhere (cap. 45) calls the Baltic *Suevicum mare.* **4. Sinus**, *peninsulas,*

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lands bending or curving out into the sea. For similar uses of the word (which generally means *gulf* or *bay*), cf. cap. 29, 35, and 37; and Agric. cap. 23; and note its connection with **insularum spatia.** By **latos sinus** is more particularly meant the Cimbric Chersonesus, *i. e.* Jutland (Denmark). **Insularum — spatia,** the islands in the Baltic sea; but especially Scandinavia (Sweden and Norway), which the Romans at that time supposed to be an island. 14

1–8. **Gentibus ac regibus,** those, namely, inhabiting the penin- 15
sulas and islands just referred to, which became known to the Romans in the course of their more recent wars; the word **nuper,** as Kritz remarks, embracing a period of nearly a hundred years. 3. **Inaccesso** = inaccessibili. **Vertice,** ablat. of source, without a preposition. **Ortus,** *rising.* Perfect participles from deponent verbs are generally best rendered by the English present participle in *ing.* 4. **Versus,** *turning.* See preceding note. The participle is here used in a middle or deponent sense. **Septentrionali oceano,** *with the northern ocean,* the ocean on the north of Germany. **Oceano** is the instrumental ablat., **miscetur** (= *mixes itself*) being taken in a middle sense. 5. **Danuvius** or Danubius, as some MSS. have it. **Molli — jugo,** *from the gently sloping — summit.* So the commentators generally. Kritz takes **molli** in the sense of *non saxoso, humumque fertilem habente.* Cf. Virg. Ecl. ix. 8. **Clementer,** *moderately.* "A moribus hominum ad res et loca translatum." K. 6. **Jugo,** ablat. of separation, governed by *ex* in **effusus.** *Jugum* is that part of a mountain or hill, where, like a yoke, it slopes in both directions. **Abnŏbae,** the Black Forest, der Schwarzwald (the Abenau mountain range). The MSS., all of which have Arnobae or Arbonae, have been corrected by means of inscriptions on stones dug up in the Black Forest. **Effusus** = *issuing;* in a middle sense, *pouring itself out.* **Plures,** *several;* a sense which the word often has. 7. **Meatibus,** *mouths;* lit. channels, passages. **Erumpat,** *it empties;* the subjunct. is here used after **donec** because the result of the action is conceived as held in suspense. C. 214, 1 (and N. 3); H. 519, 2 (and N. 2); A. 328; G. 574; Z. § 575.

9–13. **Ipsos,** the Germans *themselves,* not their country, which he presently describes. **Indigĕnas** is compounded of *indu,* an old form of *in,* and gen, root of *gigno.* S. **Crediderim,** *I am inclined to believe;* subjunctive of modest, cautious statement, to soften an assertion. C. 202, 2; H. 486, I; A. 311, *b;* G. 250;

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15 and 252, Rem. 1; Z. 527. **Minime,** *by no means; not at all.* **10. Adventibus et hospitiis,** *with the arrivals and guest-friendships* = with the immigrants and visitors (T.). Notice the use of the abstract for the concrete, a manner of expression to which Tacitus, and, indeed, all sententious writers are prone. **11. Nec — et** (line 12) = *et non — et,* but is stronger. M. § 458, Obs. c. **Nec terra sed classibus.** Modern philology has shown that just the reverse of this statement is true. The earliest migrations were by land. The progenitors of the Germans, and of all the nations of Europe, emigrated by land from their primitive home in central western Asia. The statement of Tacitus is based on his knowledge of the fact that many of the colonizations of the shores of the Mediterranean were made by sea. In **advehebantur** (= *those sailed*), which strictly applies only to **classibus,** there is a zeugma; with **terra,** *adveniebant* or *adventabant* would be more proper. **Qui,** *sc.* ii. **12. Immensus ultra oceanus,** *the vast ocean beyond* the north shore of Germany. **Utque sic dixerim,** *and, so to speak,* is a mild apology for the bold use of the word **adversus,** *hostile,* unfriendly to navigation. So the commentators generally translate it; some, however, translate it, *lying opposite,* in a different quarter of the globe. **Dixerim** instead of **dicam** occurs only in later writers. Z. § 528. The proposition on which the subjunctive with *ut* here depends, is omitted. C. 206, 4; H. 499, N. **13. Raris — aditur.** An argument to prove that the Germans were *indigenae,* and not *mixti.* **Ab orbe nostro,** *from our* (*quarter of the*) *world;* the Roman empire. The argument of Tacitus to prove the Germans *indigenae* (sprung from the soil), is this: 1. The earliest migrations were made by sea, not by land. 2. But even Roman mariners shrunk from navigating the northern ocean. 3. Therefore (as the Germans did not come by land, and dared not come by sea), the Germans sprung from the soil of their country.

14–17. Praeter, *besides,* to say nothing of. **Horridi,** *rough,* boisterous; ventis valde agitati. K. **16. Peteret,** subjunctive in a question of appeal (dubitative or deliberative subjunctive). C. 205, 1 and 3; H. 486, II; A. 268; G. 468; Z. § 530. **Informem** alludes to the vast forests and uncultivated tracts of Germany. **Terris** is ablat. of specification. **Caelo,** *in its climate.* **17. Tristem cultu,** *wretched in its civilization,* of course from a Roman standpoint. **Nisi si** (= nisi) is often used after negative sentences or equivalents, in the signification *except,*

but, etc. Z. § 343; G. 592, Rem. 2. **Sit,** *it is.* The present sub- 15
junctive implies the real or possible occurrence of the action supposed: one may (Tacitus would say), under the circumstances, go to Germany, if one is a German.

18–23. Carminibus antiquis. The history of literature shows that among all nations poetry precedes prose. Men express their feelings and emotions before they subject them to philosophical diagnosis. Of this the Iliad, the Edda, the Niebelungen Lied, and Ossian are proofs. **Unum,** *the only.* **19. Memoriae,** *of record.* **Tuistonem** is the form given in the best MSS. Others Tuisconem, Tristonem, etc. From Tuisto, the Mars of our German ancestors, the name Tuesday is derived. **20. Terra editum,** answering to the Greek *αὐτόχθων* (autochthonous). **Terra** is governed by **e** in **editum.** **Mannum,** from which some derive the word *man.* **22. Proximi oceano,** *sc.* vocentur. **Medii,** *the midland inhabitants.* **Vocentur.** The subjunctive here (in *oratio obliqua*) shows that Tacitus makes the statement not on his own authority, but on that of others.

23–28. Ut, *sc.* fit, *as is natural;* wie natürlich. K. **24. Plures,** *more,* i. e. than the three just referred to. **Deo,** *i. e.* Manno. **Ortos** (esse). **Gentis,** *of the race,* the Germanic race. **25. Suebos,** from whom the modern Suabia derives its name. The MSS. vary between Suebos and Suevos. **26. Eaque,** *sc.* esse; and also with **vocabulum.** **27. Additum,** *sc.* esse; still depending on **affirmant.** **28. Qui,** *sc.* ii. See how the statement here made is confirmed by Caesar, B. G. II. 4. **Expulerint,** subjunctive in oratio obliqua, because **quidam affirmant** and not Tacitus.

1–4. Ut nunc, *i. e.* in the time of Tacitus; supply **vocentur** 16
(not *vocantur,* because the indirect discourse is still continued). **Tunc Germani,** *i. e.* at the time of their expelling the Gauls. The researches of modern scholars render it probable that the word **Germani** is of Celtic origin. "It had come into general use among the Celts in Gaul before the time of Caesar, who there heard it applied to the whole nation dwelling on the east of the Rhine." S. It is derived from *gairm,* to shout; and *gairmmon,* a shouter, warrior; with which compare the Homeric *βοὴν ἀγαθός.* **Ita nationis nomen, etc.,** *that in this manner the name of a tribe, not of a race, gradually prevailed, so that all, first* (called Germans) *by the conqueror for the fear* (which the name inspired), *were soon afterwards called Germans by themselves also, the name having been invented* (when once the name had been invented). By **victore** is

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16 to be understood the conquering tribe (the Tungri) which expelled the Gauls, and applied to itself and the whole race the epithet Germani = warriors, thereby to excite terror; and as the name spread with the renown of the conquering tribe, the whole Germanic race felt flattered and adopted the name. This is evidently the meaning of Tacitus.

5–11. Apud eos. Notice that the use of **eos** here shows that *Germani* is not the subject of **memorant** (= *they,* i. e. people, authors, *relate*) ; if it were, we should have **apud se,** as **sui** and **suus** refer to a nominative in their own clause. **Herculem,** the ubiquitous hero; or rather that German demigod whose exploits ranked him with the Greek Hercules. **Primumque,** *sc.* eum, *him first of all,* him in particular. **6. Virorum fortium,** *i. e.* their great warriors and heroes. In Ann. II. 88, Tacitus says of Arminius, "Caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes." **7. Sunt illis** = *they have.* **Relatu,** *recital;* the chanting. A word found only in Tacitus. **8. Barditum,** *the battle-song.* This is the reading of the best, and by far the larger number of MSS. A few have *baritum.* The etymological connections of the word are so obscure that nothing can be said with certainty in regard to it. **Futurae — fortunam,** *the chance of the impending battle.* **9. Ipso cantu.** The use of **ipso** gives the expression the force of "*ex solo sono*" (K.); from the mere sound of the song. **10. Trepidantve,** *or take alarm,* are frightened. **Ve,** a weaker form of *vel,* gives a choice, but with the probability in favor of the first alternative. C. 257, 5; H. 554, II. 2. **Acies,** *the army* in order of battle. **Nec — videtur,** *nor does that* (battle-song) *seem so much a unison of voice as of valor.* **Ille** refers to *barditus.* This is the reading of Hm. and He.; K. and others read, *nec tam voces illae quam virtutis concentus videntur.*

12–24. Fractum murmur, *a broken sound,* issuing not straight out from the mouth, but in the manner explained in the next clause. **13. Quo,** *that* (in order that), takes the place of *ut,* especially with a comparative (**plenior**). C. 206, 1; H. 497, II. 2; A. 317, *b;* G. 545, 2; Z. § 536. **Repercussu,** *by its reflection.* **14. Ulixem — opinantur.** It is plain from what Tacitus says at the close of this chapter, that he classes this among the romantic tales with which the lively fancy of Greek writers and their Roman imitators loved to adorn and amplify the old legends. **Longo illo errore.** Observe the emphatic position of **illo,** which, in the sense of *well known,* follows its noun, if not

accompanied by an adjective. **15. Fabuloso,** *storied;* romantic. 16
Hunc oceanum, *i. e.* the ocean washing the northern shores of Germany and adjacent coasts (not the Arctic ocean). **Adisse** = adivisse, *came to.* **16. Asciburgium,** now Asburg, on the Rhine; as is commonly believed; or (perhaps, according to Dr. Smith), the neighboring hamlet of Essenburg or Orsoy. **17. Situm,** *sc.* est. **Constitutum,** *sc.* esse; also after **nominatum. 18. Quin etiam,** *moreover;* nay even. **Ulixi,** *to Ulysses,* in honor of Ulysses; dat. of advantage. So most of the commentators; a few, however, take **Ulixi** here = ab Ulixe. **19. Patris nomine,** *i. e.* as a patronymic, Laertiadae, *Λαερτιάδῃ.* **Eodem loco.** The preposition **in** is frequently omitted with **loco,** when an adjective is used. **Repertam,** *sc.* esse. **20. Tumulos,** *sepulchral mounds.* **Graecis — inscriptos.** Whether the inscriptions were in Greek characters or not, it is certain that the use of Greek characters was widely diffused over Europe several centuries before the Christian era. It seems probable that the Gauls learned the art of writing from the Phocaeans, who colonized Massilia (Marseilles). For the statement in the text Tacitus is supposed to be indebted to the elder Pliny. **22. Adhuc exstare,** *still exist,* are still extant. **23. In animo est,** *sc.* mihi, *it is my purpose.* **Ex — suo,** *according to his turn of mind.* **Quisque demat,** *let each withdraw;* imperative subjunctive.

26–28. Nullis — connubiis, *by no intermarriages with other nations.* The use of **aliis,** while really superfluous, serves the purpose of emphasis. "**Aliis** is not, however, wholly redundant; but brings out more fully the idea: *no intermarriages, one with one nation, and another with another.*" T. **Infectos,** *mixed,* implying generally, and probably here, deterioration. **27. Sinceram,** *unmixed.* **Tantum — similem,** *only like itself.* **Sui.** C. 162, 4; H. 391, II, 4; A. 218, *d;* G. 356, Rem. 1; Z. § 411, *in fin.* The genitive is more likely with *similis* when the reference is to internal resemblance or resemblance in character. **28. Habitus,** *characteristics;* in the singular. Supply est.

2–6. Idem omnibus (est), *all have the same;* **omnibus** being 17
dat. of the possessor. **Truces — oculi.** Compare Caes. B. G. I. 39; Juv. XIII. 164; Hor. Epod. XVI. 7. **Rutilae comae,** *reddish-yellow hair.* But S. says: "The Gauls and Germans frequently used artificial means to make their hair red." **3. Ad impetum,** *for a sudden effort,* for a brief onset. Cf. Ann. II. 14, where we have *corpus ad brevem impetum validum.* **4. Non,** *sc.* est iis, *they have*

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17 *not.* **Minimeque,** *and least of all.* **5. Tolerare** depends on **assuerunt.** (Sed) **frigora atque inediam** (tolerare), etc.; (*but*) *cold and hunger they are accustomed* (*to endure*) *by reason of their climate and soil.* **Caelo** and **solo,** ablat. of cause, refer to **frigora** and **inediam** respectively; hence **ve,** though disjunctive, is better rendered *and.* K. thus expands and explains the brevity of Tacitus: *prout vel caeli vel soli natura est.* **6. Assuerunt** = assueverunt.

7–13. Aliquanto, *considerably;* strictly an ablat. of degree of difference, though usually accounted an adverb. **In universum,** *on the whole,* in general. **8. Horrida,** *bristling.* **Foeda,** *sc.* est. **9. Gallias,** *Gaul.* When Gaul became Roman and was divided into several parts, they were called **Galliae. Ventosior,** like the Homeric ἠνεμόεις, implies elevation — *exposed to winds,* and hence lofty. **10. Aspicit,** *it faces.* **Satis,** *in crops;* ablat. from **sata.** Cf. Virg. Georg. II. 222. **Impatiens,** *unproductive.* Tacitus alludes to the finer fruits of a Southern clime. **11. Improcera,** *undersized,* sc. pecora sunt. **Pecora** are the smaller (horned) cattle; **armenta,** the larger. **Ne — quidem,** *sc.* est, *not even the larger cattle have;* **armentis** being dat. of the possessor. **12. Suus — frontis,** *their proper size and beauty or splendor of forehead.* An expression almost too poetical for the occasion. **Gloria frontis** is used poetically for "magna et camura cornua." K. **Numero,** rather than quality. **13. Eae,** and not *ea,* agreeing with **opes** rather than with *armenta.*

14–28. Propitii — irati, *whether in kindness or in anger;* hence **negaverint** is subjunctive of indirect question. **15. Nec — affirmaverim,** *and yet I shall not assert;* **affirmaverim** is subjunctive of modest or cautious statement (to soften an assertion; like the Attic use of the optative with ἄν). See note and references to **crediderim,** line 9, page 15. It is now well known that both gold and silver are found in Germany. **17. Possessione — afficiuntur,** *in regard to their possession and use they are not disposed in just the same manner;* while they desire to possess gold and silver utensils, they yet subject them to base uses. The comparison is evidently between **possessione** and **usu.** So Kritz. **18. Est videre** = *one may see;* it is possible to see. The expression shows the influence of Greek (ἔστιν ὁρᾶν) on Latin. The Latin idiom is *licet videre.* As an accomplishment, Greek was more common among the Romans than among ourselves. **19. Non in alia** = in eadem, in just the same. **20. Quae — finguntur,** *i. e.* earthen-

ware; **humo** is ablat. of the material (means). **Proximi,** *i. e.* to 17
the Rhine or to the Romans. **22. Formas** = *pieces;* a word frequently applied to *stamped coins.* **23. Eligunt,** because they know these well, **agnoscunt. Interiores,** *those farther inland.* **25. Serratos,** *coins with notched edges,* like the edge of a saw. This word is post-Augustan. **Bigatosque,** *and coins stamped with the figure of a two-horse chariot.* **26. Affectione,** *predilection,* inclination. **27. Numerus,** *the* (great) *number,* which made them better known, and their use more general in the purchase of ordinary commodities. **Argenteorum** (*sc.* numorum), *of the silver coins.* **28. Promiscua ac vilia,** *common and cheap commodities.*

1–13. Ne quidem (with a word between) = *not even.* **Superest,** 18
abounds. **2. Colligitur,** *is inferred.* **Rari,** *only a few;* a man here and there. **3. Framĕas,** *frameae,* which is therefore an old German word; occurring also in Spanish. **4. Ferro,** *point,* head; ablat. of description or quality. **Habili,** *handy,* suitable. **5. Ratio** = the English word *circumstances;* lit. a consideration of the circumstances. **6. Scuto, framea.** These ablatives are sufficiently explained as ablatives of cause — the cause of **contentus est. 7. Spargunt** poeticum habet colorem. K. An instance of the tendency of Tacitus to use poetical expressions. Cf. Virg. Aen. XII. 50. **Pluraque singuli** (*sc.* pedites missilia spargunt), *and each footsoldier a good many.* **8. In immensum** (*sc.* spatium), *to a great distance.* **Vibrant,** *they hurl* them; properly, they sway them backward and forward, and then hurl them. **Nudi,** here, as often, is *almost nude.* **9. Leves** = *lightly covered;* being **nudi** and **leves** they have more complete command of their bodily powers. **Cultus,** *of ornaments,* of military equipments. **Lectissimis,** *with very choice,* striking. **10. Coloribus.** "Hence coats of arms and the origin of heraldry." T. from Murphy. **Loricae,** *sc.* sunt. **11.** The **cassis** was of metal; the **galea** of leather. **Forma,** *for their beauty;* ablat. of cause. **12. Sed nec** = sed et non, *but — not even.* **Variare gyros,** *to vary their curves* or courses; "to describe a movement of which the figure 8 gives one the best idea." **13. In rectum — sit,** *they drive them in a straight line* (= straight forward) *or by a single bending to the right, in a circular course so connected that no one is behind.* The movement may be thus explained: the horsemen rode abreast on the radius of a circle; the rider on the extreme right of the line, being nearer the centre of the circle, moved more slowly, while the rider on the extreme left, being on the circumference, moved more rapidly; a

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18 principal object was that the whole line should present an even front. The circular arcs which the several riders were at any moment describing were so conjoined by the common radius in which they moved, that no rider lagged behind. So Kritz and other commentators. Some explain the passage differently.

14–28. In universum, *on the whole,* in general. **15. Aestimanti,** *to one considering* the matter; equivalent here to a protasis, *si quis aestimat;* dative of reference after some such expression as *venit in mentem,* understood. **Eo,** *therefore;* ablat. of cause. **Mixti,** *i. e.* equites cum peditibus mixti. Cf. Caes. B. G. I. 48, where the same thing is more fully described. **18. Centeni.** Notice the force of the distributive; *a hundred from each canton.* **19. Id ipsum,** lit. *that itself* = *by just that name,* i. e. centeni; *hundert,* with, of course, the proper name annexed; **id ipsum** is predicate nominative after **vocantur. 20. Quod,** *i. e.* id quod = *what.* **Primo** generally is *at first;* while **primum** is *first, in the first place.* **Numerus,** *a* (mere) *number.* **21. Cuneos.** The plural indicates that each body formed a *cuneus,* and that many *cunei* formed the **acies. Loco,** ablat. governed by **ex** understood. Cf. Liv. III. 63. **22. Instes,** subjunct. of condition. C. 217, 3; H. 513, I; A. 314; G. 575; Z. 572. **Consilii — formidinis** = *a proof of prudence rather than of fear.* The omission of **potius** is noticeable. "Isolated irregularities in the use of the comparative form are met with here and there in certain writers (Sallust, Livy, and especially Tacitus), *e. g.* the omission of *magis* or *potius* before *quam.*" Madvig, § 308, Obs. 2. **Consilii,** predicate genitive. C. 135; H. 401 and 403; A. 214, *c;* G. 365; Z. 448. **23. Corpora,** *sc.* caesa. **Referunt,** *i. e.* back to the rear. **24.** Nec fas (est) ignominioso, etc. **26. Multi,** *sc.* ignominiosi. **Superstites bellorum,** *surviving the wars.* The genitive after *superstes* is mostly post-Augustan. **Laqueo,** *with a halter.* **28. Reges, duces.** Civil rulers and military leaders respectively. **Ex,** *according to* (*their*).

19 **1–15. Nec regibus,** *sc.* est = *and kings have not;* **regibus** being dat. of the possessor. **Infinita, libera,** *unlimited, unrestrained.* **Exemplo** and **imperio,** instrumental ablat. **3. Agant,** subjunctive by the principle of oratio obliqua, to reflect the sentiment of the admirers and not that of Tacitus. **Admiratione,** *with admiration,* so as to excite admiration. **4. Animadvertere** = *to punish,* here with death. "*Animadvertere in aliquem,* by an ellipsis of *supplicio,* signifies *to punish any one.*" Crombie. **5. Permissum,**

sc. est. **Non — poenam,** *not as though for punishment,* but to appease the anger of the deity. 19 **7. Effigies et signa,** *images and standards,* standards with certain images on them; these images, as appears from Hist. IV. 22, were those of wild boars, bears, wolves, and bulls: "depromptae silvis lucisve ferarum imagines." And this explains (8) **detracta lucis,** *taken from the groves.* 9. **Quodque** = et quod, *and what.* **10. Conglobatio,** *mass of men,* assemblage; a post-Augustan word. **Turmam,** of cavalry. **Cuneum,** of infantry. **11. In proximo** (*sc.* loco) = *near by,* in proximity. **Pignora,** *i. e.* their wives and children. **12. Audiri,** *is heard;* the historical infinitive. This is the reading of the MSS., which Kritz corrects and reads *auditur.* **13. Sanctissimi,** *the most inviolable,* whose claims and rights must be defended. Observe that **hi** takes the ruling gender of **testes** and **laudatores.** **15. Exigere,** *to demand,* as proof of valor. Some editors translate *to examine* and care for, which seems not to accord with the general spirit of the context.

17–28. Quasdam — labantes, *that some armies already giving way and wavering.* **18. Restitutas** (esse). Notice the two ablatives **feminis** and **constantia**; the former, being a *voluntary* agent, is governed by the preposition **a**; the latter, expressing *means,* is the instrumental ablat. without a preposition. **19. Objectu pectorum,** that is, to their husbands and brothers, and imploring death at their hands rather than captivity with the enemy. **Comminus,** *close at hand.* **20. Nomine,** *for the sake of,* in the case of. **21. Adeo ut,** *to such a degree that.* **22. Nobiles.** So all the MSS. Some editors, however, read *nubiles;* a reading at variance with the ancient German reverence for women. **23. Inesse,** *sc.* feminis, *that there is in them.* **Quin etiam,** *moreover.* **25. Responsa,** *their answers;* their oracular responses and prophecies. **Vidimus Veledam,** namely, at Rome, whither she was brought captive. The plural indicates Tacitus and his contemporaries. "From this passage it has been erroneously supposed that Tacitus had himself been in Germany." S. **Divo,** *the deified.* After the Augustan period this was a standing epithet of deceased Roman emperors. The use of the word here, of course, implies that Vespasian was dead at the time the passage was written. **26. Plerosque,** *sc.* Germanorum. **Loco,** *in the rank.* **27. Albrunam.** The name appears in a great variety of forms, even in the MSS. Aurinia is the commoner form. **28. Adulatione,** *from cringing flattery;* the servile spirit which induced the Romans

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19 under the empire to deify men, and even women, as Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, and others. There is in this passage an indirect but evident censure of the servile spirit and depraved manners of the later Romans. **Neque — deas,** *nor as if they made them goddesses;* but the Germans, believing that these women were divinely inspired in an unusual degree, ranked them, though human, with goddesses. After **facerent** supply *eas.*

20 **1–11. Mercurium.** Cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 17. Tacitus, of course, applies Roman names to the German deities. **2. Quoque** immediately follows the word which it emphasizes. On other days victims of a different kind were offered. **3. Concessis,** *with the allowed* or allotted; with animals usually devoted to sacrifice among other nations. The word is used in contrast with **humanis.** [**Et Herculem.**] Words thus inclosed are found in only a few MSS. or rest upon inferior MS. authority. **4. Sueborum** = Suevorum. Their name still remains in Schwaben, Suabia. **Isidi.** Amid the many conjectures respecting this goddess, that of Ritter and Kritz, who identify her with the Nerthus of chap. 40, seems the most plausible. **Unde causa,** *sc.* sit. Tacitus by this remark indicates a possible adoption by the Germans of the Egyptian goddess Isis. **5. Sacro,** dative. **Signum,** *her symbol.* **6. Liburnae,** *of a Liburnian galley;* a light, fast sailing vessel of the Liburnians, an Illyrian people on the Adriatic. **Advectam** (esse). **7. Religionem,** *that her worship.* **Cohibere,** *to confine* (*within*). **8. Ex,** *in accordance with.* **10. Consecrant,** *i. e.* to particular deities. **Secretum illud,** *that mysterious being;* which was neither to be materialized in images nor circumscribed by temples; neither of which the Germans of this age had. **11. Sola — vident,** *they discern by reverence alone.* Hence, among the Germans religion was more spiritual, though none the less superstitious; among other pagans, it was rather a matter of form.

12–28. Sortesque. Cf. Caes. B. G. I. 50, and I. 43. **Ut qui maxime** = quam maxime, *very diligently;* lit., *as those* (observe them) *who observe them most.* **14. Arbori.** The dative depends on **de** in composition (**decisam**). **15. Discretos,** *distinguished,* marked; from *discerno.* **Temere,** *at random.* **16. Si — consultetur** = *if the consultation is on behalf of the state.* Editors generally read *consuletur.* We give the reading of Halm. **18. Ter singulos tollit,** *takes up each one three times;* for the sake of greater certainty. "Three is the charm." Cf. Caes. B. G. I. 53. **19. Sublatos,** *them while held up.* **20. Prohibuerunt,** *sc.* sortes.

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21. Permissum, *sc.* est, *the matter is allowed;* impersonally. **22.** 20
Fides, *confirmation.* **Exigitur,** *is required.* **Et illud quidem,** *and in fact the following.* **Hic,** *i. e.* in Germany. **Notum** (*est*). **23. Proprium gentis** (Germanicae est), *it is a peculiarity of the* (*German*) *race.* According to several Greek writers the ancient Persians observed the same custom. **24. Publice,** *by the state;* or, at the expense of the state. **25. Lucis.** What preposition is understood? **26. Mortali** = *of man.* **Contacti,** *defiled,* blemished. **Pressos** poeticum habet colorem, K.; and is another instance of the proneness of Tacitus to the language of poetry. **Sacro curru,** used in the performance of public sacred rites. **27. Hinnitus — observant.** How is Darius Hystaspes said to have been chosen king? Cf. Herod. III. 85.

1–14. Fides, *credit.* **2. Illos,** *sc.* equos. **Conscios,** *sc.* esse, *are* 21
their confidants. **4. Explorantur** is the reading of one MS. corrected, and is adopted by Halm; some have *exploratur;* others *explorant.* **5. Quoquo modo,** *in whatever manner,* "vel vi, vel dolo, vel casu." K. **6. Electo — suorum,** *one chosen from their own countrymen.* **Patriis,** *of his country* or nation. **7. Armis,** ablat. of accompaniment, with *cum* omitted. **Committunt,** *they match,* for single combat. The technical word for matching gladiators and combatants. "Montesquieu finds in this custom the origin of the duel and of knight-errantry." T. **Praejudicio,** *a prejudgment,* a virtual judgment of the result of the future contest. **10. Ita tamen ut,** *in such a way however that* = *with this provision however that.* **11. Pertractentur,** *are thoroughly discussed.* Per seems to have an intensive force here. Ritter reads *praetractentur,* which would be a happy conjecture, if conjecture were needed. **13. Certis,** *on fixed,* appointed. **Inchoatur luna.** Cf. Caes. I. 50. **Impletur,** not *is filled* or full, but *is increasing,* is filling; as the present tense implies. **14. Rebus,** dative.

15–28. Noctium. Compare the expressions "sennight" (seven nights), a week; "fortnight" (fourteen nights), two weeks. See also, Caes. B. G. VI. 18. **16. Constituunt, condicunt** (*determine, appoint*). Vocabula sunt forensia. K. **Ducere,** *to lead* = to go before; a day was reckoned from sunset to sunset. **17. Illud** is subject. **Ex libertate,** *sc.* ortum, *arising from.* **18. Ut,** *when.* **Et alter,** *even a second;* from which it is evident that **alter** is equivalent to *secundus.* **19. Ut,** *when,* as soon as. **21. Quibus est** = *who have.* **Tum,** *then,* when they have taken their seats in convention. **22. Cuique,** translate *of each;* it is however dative

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21 of the possessor, *sc.* est. **23. Decus,** *his renown* (*in*). **Auctoritate,** *from their influence* (*in*); ablat. of cause. **24. Displicuit,** *sc.* iis. **28. Discrimen intendere** = *to arraign on a capital charge;* lit., to hold over (one) the peril of (his) head.

22 **1–12. Ex,** *according to.* **2. Arboribus,** governed by **de, ex,** or **ab,** understood. The preposition is frequently expressed. **3. Ignavos,** *cowards,* who show fear in battle; **imbelles,** *the unwarlike,* who seek to avoid warfare. **Corpore infames,** *the disreputable in body;* "nefandis et naturae repugnantibus libidinibus dediti." K. **Coeno ac palude** = *coenosa palude;* such a hendiadys we should expect to find only in poetry. Yet many occur in Tacitus. **4. Diversitas.** A post-Augustan word, and a proof of the growth and development of language, not necessarily of its decay. **5. Illuc respicit** = *has regard to this,* has this object in view. **Scelera oporteat** = *crimes ought;* crimes against society, while **flagitia** are vices which degrade the individual. **6. Delictis,** dat. of the possessor. **7. Pro modo,** *sc.* delicti, *according to the measure* of the offense. **Poena,** *sc.* est. All the MSS. have, strangely enough, *poenarum,* which nearly all editors, ancient and modern, have corrected. "*Poena* and *supplicium* agree in denoting a punishment inflicted upon some person, held to be a culprit, but differ in respect to its severity. Poena denotes a penalty, which may be either the lightest or the heaviest possible, and comprehends also all the intermediate degrees. *Supplicium* differs from *poena,* in denoting that the punishment is always severe, and that the rigor of the means is neglected, provided the end is obtained." *Hill,* pp. 594–5. See Hist. I. 37. **Numero,** ablat. of the fine. **Multare,** to mulct, is always followed by the ablative. **9. Vindicatur,** *is avenged.* **Propinquis ejus,** *e. g.* in cases of homicide. **10. Isdem** = iisdem. **Jura reddunt,** *administer justice,* in circuit (per) courts. **11. Pagos,** *cantons,* districts, the territory of a distinct people, *e. g.* the hundred cantons of the Suevi, Caes. B. G. I. 37. There might be many **vici** in a *pagus.* **12. Consilium — auctoritas,** *at once his council* (or *advisers*) *and* (*the supporters of*) *his authority, i. e.* "who at the same time give them advice and increase their influence with the people."

13–18. Rei is partitive genitive limiting **nihil.** **Neque — neque,** *either — or;* because **nihil** is a general negative which *neque — neque* simply distributes. C. 256, 2; H. 553, 2; A. 209, 2; G. 444. **14. Non cuiquam moris,** *sc.* est = *it is not customary for any one.* **Cuiquam** is dative of the possessor. **Moris** is predi-

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cate genitive of quality. **Ante quam** = antequam, *before;* followed by **probaverit,** subjunctive of ideal limit. By the use of **probaverit** it is implied "that some kind of proof of his capabilities was to be given by the young man." S. **15. Suffecturum,** *sc.* eum esse, *that he will be able* (to bear arms). **16. Principum,** partitive genitive limiting **aliquis. 17. Scuto — ornant.** Compare with this ceremonial the investiture of knights with lance and shield in the days of chivalry. **Haec,** *sc.* est; agreeing in gender with the predicate, **toga. 18. Toga,** *the toga,* i. e. the symbol of entrance upon manhood, as the assumption of the toga was with the Romans. **Honos,** to be taken in its political sense; an honor bestowed by the state and a stepping-stone to "office and honor." 22

20–28. Patrum merita, *services on the part of fathers.* **Principis dignationem,** *the rank of prince.* So most editors. Kritz, however, gives these words the sense of, "the favor of the prince." Tacitus would hardly think it necessary to state so natural a fact. **21. Ceteris,** dative after **aggregantur. 22. Jam pridem** = jampridem, *long,* already long. **Aggregantur,** *sc.* hi adolescentuli; *they attach themselves.* **Nec rubor,** *sc.* est iis = *nor are they ashamed.* **23. Comites,** *the attendants,* retinue, of the king or prince; the same as **comitatus** in the same line. **Gradus,** *degrees* of rank. **Quin etiam,** *moreover;* but even. **25. Quibus — locus,** *sc.* sit, *who shall have the first, etc.* **27. Comites,** *sc.* sint; subjunctive of indirect question. **Haec,** *sc.* est; also agreeing with the predicate **dignitas. 28. Decus** answers to **dignitas,** and **praesidium** to vires; **decus** is in apposition with the preceding clause.

1–5. Cuique, *sc.* principis. **2. Nomen,** *renown.* **3. Comitatus,** 23
genitive. **Emineat,** *he is distinguished;* subjunctive in oratio obliqua, to refer the thought to **cuique. Expetuntur,** *sc.* tales principes, *they are sought after,* are courted. **4. Legationibus** is ablative. **Ipsa,** ablative, agrees with **fama;** *by their reputation itself.* **5. Profligant,** *they almost terminate.* For other instances of this meaning of *profligo,* cf. Ann. XIV. 36; Hist. II. 4. Tacitus applies to **bella** a word which is more strictly applicable to *hostes.*

6–18. Ventum, *sc.* est ab iis = *when they come.* **8. Jam vero,** *sc.* est, *then indeed it is;* introducing a climax or important consideration. **9. Superstitem** is here followed by the dative; in chapter 6, it was followed by the genitive. **11. Sacramentum,** *solemn obligation.* **Sacramentum** was also the oath of allegiance taken

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23 by the Roman soldiers. **13. Torpeat,** *becomes inactive.* What does the use of the present subjunctive imply? C. 215, 3; H. 509; A. 307, *b;* G. 598; Z. 524. **15. Aliquod.** Observe that **aliquod** is the adjective pronoun, **aliqui, aliqua, aliquod. 16. Ancipitia,** *dangers,* the perils of war. **18. Exigunt,** *they demand, i. e.* strive to win. **Illum — illam** point to the well recognized rewards of valor. When emphatic, *ille* is often placed after the noun, unless accompanied by an adjective.

20–28. Quamquam — apparatus, *entertainments though inelegant yet plentiful.* **Apparatus** however refers rather to the general appointments and style of the banquet, than to the banquet itself. **21. Cedunt,** *go, i. e. are taken.* **22. Arare persuaseris.** The infinitive with *persuadeo* is more usual in poetry, and in the prose of the silver age. **23. Annum** = *the produce of the year.* **Persuaseris,** *will you persuade them;* subjunct. of modest or cautious statement. Tacitus is partial to this use of the perfect subjunctive. See note and references to **crediderim,** line 9, page 15. **24. Vocare** = provocare, *to challenge.* Poetice. **Mereri,** *to win,* by valor; "to win honorable scars." **Quin immo,** *nay more. Immo* gives emphasis, and puts something stronger in place of what has been said. C. 258, 18; A. 209, *d;* Z. 277. **Pigrum et iners,** *tame and spiritless.* **27. Multum venatibus.** All the MSS. have *non multum,* which is inconsistent with the general description of German life, as given by Tacitus, and is in direct contradiction of what Caesar says, B. G. VI. 21. Many editors accordingly reject *non.* S. says, that while Tacitus intends to denote that, although the Germans sometimes engaged in hunting, yet they spent more time in inactivity, sleep, and eating and drinking.

24 **1–11. Fortissimus quisque,** *all the bravest;* an idiomatic form of frequent occurrence. **2. Domus,** genitive. **Penatium,** *i. e. of the household,* domestic arrangements. **Agrorum.** In some parts of Germany the severest agricultural labors are still performed by women. **3. Ipsi,** *i. e.* viri. **4. Hebent,** *lounge about.* **Diversitate,** *contrariety,* contradiction. **5. Oderint.** Why the perfect, while **ament** is present? **6. Conferre,** *to bestow.* **Armentorum,** partitive genitive, without a governing word expressed. We may supply *aliquid.* **9. Singulis,** *individuals,* whether officials or private citizens. **10. Publice,** *in the name of the state.* **11. Jam** goes with **docuimus. Accipere,** *sc.* eos; *i. e.* instead of using the sword like our fathers, we have begun to pay the Germans for leaving us unmolested in our luxury.

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12–18. Germanorum populis, *by the tribes of the Germans;* 24
populis being dative of the agent, instead of the usual prose construction of **a** or **ab** with the ablative. **13. Satis,** *quite.* Tacitus uses the word **urbes** in its larger sense, as distinguished from *vicus* and *oppidum.* **Pati,** *sc.* eos. **Inter se** = *together,* to one another. **14. Colunt** = incolunt. **Discreti ac diversi,** *separate and scattered about,* without regard to order or regularity. **Ut fons.** "Hence to this day, the names of German towns often end in bach (brook), feld (field), holz (grove), wald (wood), born (spring)." T. **16. Connexis — cohaerentibus,** *with connected* (as by fences, hedges, etc.) *and contiguous* (by close contact). **18. Remedium,** accusative in apposition with the preceding sentence. "Sometimes an accusative stands in apposition with a whole preceding sentence." G. 323. **Inscitia,** *from ignorance;* ablative of cause.

19–28. Materia, *timber,* wood for building. **20. Citra,** lit. on this side of; short of; hence = sine, *without.* **Speciem aut delectationem,** *elegance or attractiveness.* **21. Loca,** the walls. **Terra ita pura,** of which nothing is certainly known. Some have supposed that it was a kind of red earth or chalk. **22. Ut — imitetur,** *that it resembles painting and delineations in colors.* **Pictura** is simply painting (in one color). Tacitus doubtless had in mind the ornamentation of the walls of Roman houses customary in his time. **23. Solent — aperire,** *i. e.* the more remote and less civilized tribes. **Aperire** = fodere. **24. Insuper,** *above.* Kritz thinks it may mean *moreover.* **Suffugium.** See note on **remedium,** line 18, above. **Hiemi,** *from winter;* the dative here depends on a noun, **suffugium,** *a shelter.* **25. Ejus modi,** *such;* lit. of this kind, **modi** being a genitive of quality. **26. Aperta,** *sc.* loca. **27. Populatur,** *sc.* hostis. **Abdita — defossa** (*sc.* loca), *but their hidden retreats and their caves.* **28. Eo — fallunt,** *they escape notice from the very fact.* **Eo** is ablat. of cause.

1–13. Omnibus sagum, *sc.* est. The **sagum** covered the back 25
and shoulders; it was worn by the Roman soldiers and peasants. **2. Cetera intecti,** lit., *uncovered as to the other parts* of the body; **cetera** being accusative of specification. C. 128, 1; H. 378; A. 240, *c;* G. 332; Z. 459. **Dies,** accusative of duration of time. **4. Fluitante,** *flowing loosely.* **Sicut Sarmătae,** *sc.* distinguuntur. **Stricta — exprimente,** *tight and exhibiting each limb.* The garment referred to was of course worn beneath the **sagum,** extending below it. **6. Ripae,** *sc.* Rheni. **Negligenter,** because intercourse with the Romans supplied them with other clothing

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25 also. **Exquisitius,** *more elegantly,* nicely; because skins were their only clothing. **7. Ut quibus,** *sc.* sit, *inasmuch as they have;* a relative clause expressing a reason, the relative at the same time being strengthened by **ut.** C. 224, Note 1; H. 517, 3, 1); A. 320, *e;* G. 636. **Cultus,** *refinement,* the elegancies of civilized life. **8. Maculis pellibusque,** *i. e.* spots made of the skins of wild animals, and fastened on for the sake of variety. S. A hendiadys. **9. Exterior oceanus,** the German ocean; **ignotum mare,** "*the unknown sea*" is the Baltic. **10. Habitus,** *dress,* attire. **12. Variant,** *they diversify.* **13. Brachia,** accusative of specification. **Brachium** extended from the hand to the elbow; **lacertus,** from the elbow to the shoulder.

14–18. Quamquam, *although,* i. e. notwithstanding the style of dress. **15. Laudaveris,** *will you praise;* perfect subjunctive. See remark on **persuaseris,** line 23, page 23, and references, line 9, page 15. **16. Barbarorum,** *among barbarians;* partitive genitive. **Singulis.** Notice the force of the distributive; "*one wife each.*" **17. Qui non — ambiuntur,** *who* (have several wives) *not from lust, but on account of their nobility are invited to several marriages.* **Nuptiis** is dative of the end or object. All the MSS. have *plurimis nuptiis.* But, with Halm and Kritz, we prefer *pluribus,* which forms a better contrast with *singulis.* Ariovistus had but two wives. **Ambiuntur,** *sc.* a virginum parentibus aut propinquis. K.

22–28. Delicias muliebres, *the mere delight of the women;* "the fastidious tastes of women." **23. Nec quibus—comatur,** *nor those with which the new bride may be adorned;* they are not intended for the bride's adornment, but for the active business of life. **24. In haec munera.** These words are generally interpreted, *on condition of these gifts.* To us they seem rather to mean, *to the symbolism* (or purport) *of these gifts;* or simply *into these gifts,* i. e. their significance; maintenance and protection. **26. Haec — sacra,** *these are their mystic rites,* which, though the eye may see, the mind must interpret and the soul feel. Tacitus doubtless had in mind here the most solemn kind of Roman marriage, called *confarreatio.* **27. Conjugales deos.** The Romans had quite a number of *gods of marriage;* e. g. Jupiter, Juno, Diana, Hymenaeus, Venus, and others of less note. **28. Extra — cogitationes,** *beyond aspirations after manly qualities.*

26 **1–13. Bellorum casus — incipientis** forms a hexameter verse. S. **3. Idem,** *sc.* quod vir suus vel patitur vel audet. **Passuram.** The

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future participle here denotes purpose or destiny. **5. Denuntiant,** *declare,* proclaim. **Sic vivendum,** *sc.* esse sibi, *that thus she must live.* **Accipere se,** *that she receives,* depends on **denuntiant. 6. Quae,** *sc.* ea; referring, as Kritz remarks, not to the gifts, but rather to the duties and dutiful spirit signified in the gifts. **Quae reddat** = ut ea reddat, *which she is to hand over.* C. 222; H. 497, I; A. 317; G. 632; Z. 567. **7. Accipiant,** *i. e.* from her sons. **Referantur,** *sc.* quae, *which are to be transmitted.* **8. Septa.** One MS. has *septae.* *With chastity guarded,* by the sacredness of marriage and the moral obligations implied in the bridal gifts. **Spectaculorum** refers to the corrupt influences of the Roman shows and exhibitions. **9. Conviviorum.** Cf. Nepos Pref.: Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? **10. Litterarum secreta.** By "*the secrets of letters*" Tacitus must mean *secret correspondence,* clandestine love letters; "quibus illiciti amores juvabantur." K. This view, indeed, is made necessary by the context. **12. Praesens,** *immediate.* **13. Abscisis,** from *abscido.* Some MSS. have *accisis.* 26

14–28. Publicatae=vulgatae, *prostituted.* **15. Pudicitiae,** is dative of the possessor, sc. est. **Non forma,** *neither by her beauty.* **16. Invenerit,** *will she find;* perf. subjunctive of cautious statement. See remark on **persuaseris,** line 23, page 23, and references to **crediderim,** line 9, page 15. **Nemo—vocatur.** Tacitus seems here, like an uncompromising censor, to epitomize the whole depraved life of the fashionable Rome of his day. **17. Saeculum,** *the spirit of the age.* **18. Melius — adhuc,** *still better indeed;* **adhuc** here = etiam of the Augustan period. See Lex. **Eae civitates,** *sc.* agunt or sunt. **19. Tantum virgines,** and not widows; *i. e.* where there are no second or subsequent marriages, or where the wife, on the death of her husband, put an end to her own life. **20. Semel transigitur,** *the business is once for all concluded;* with no hope or wish for its repetition. **21. Ne — ultra,** *sc.* sit. **22. Longior,** *a more distant,* outreaching the first union. **23. Numerum — finire** (*to limit*), in an unnatural way either before or after birth. **24. Agnatis,** *additional children,* born after the father had made his will. *Agnati* are kinsmen by the father's side, and include the regular line of his descendants. **27. Nudi,** *slightly clad;* as the word often means. **Sordidi** must also refer to clothing = *meanly clad;* since in chap. 22 the Germans are said to bathe every day. **28. Quae miramur,** on account of their great size. **Sua,** *his own.*

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27 1–17. **Uberibus** = *at the breast.* **Nec — delegantur.** Cf. Dial. de Orat. c. 29, where Tacitus speaks of the injurious practice of handing over children to the care of servants. 2. **Educationis,** in the physical sense of being reared. 3. **Deliciis,** *amenities.* 4. **Aetas,** *i. e.* until both have grown up. **Separet.** Subjunctive after **donec,** because the attainment of the result is viewed as held in suspense. C. 214, 1; H. 519, II. 2; A. 328; G. 574; Z. 575. **Virtus,** *valor;* **agnoscat,** *recognizes them;* until the achievement of some deed of valor classes them among the brave. 5. **Venus** = concubitus; *the sexual congress.* Cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 21. **Eoque,** *and for this reason;* **eo** being ablative of cause. 6. **Festinantur** = *are hurried into marriage.* **Eadem juventa,** *sc.* est virginibus atque juvenibus; youth is not wedded to age. 7. **Miscentur** = *are wedded, sc.* "cum juvenibus maritis." K. 8. **Referunt,** *reproduce;* and hence *resemble.* 9. **Honor,** *regard,* consideration. 10. **Hunc nexum,** *i. e.* of sisters' sons. 11. **Exigunt,** *sc.* sororum filios. **Tamquam** = *on the ground that.* 12. **Teneant,** subjunctive in *oratio obliqua,* because representing the view of others than the writer. 13. **Cuique liberi,** *each man's children.* 15. **Quanto — quo — tanto** = *the — the — the;* ablatives of degree of difference. Notice that **patrui** are *paternal uncles;* **avunculi,** *maternal uncles;* **propinqui,** *blood relations;* **affines,** *relations by marriage.* 16. **Gratiosior senectus.** While the death of a wealthy parent was often impatiently waited for by the corrupt Roman; and the childless old man of wealth was sure to be fawned upon by a crowd of expectant flatterers. 17. **Orbitatis,** *of childlessness.* **Pretia,** *advantages, sc.* sunt.

18–28. **Suscipere,** *to take up* and make them one's own. **Tam — quam,** *as well — as.* 20. **Durant,** *sc.* Germani. **Armentorum,** *of large cattle.* 21. **Recipit — domus,** *the whole house receives satisfaction; i. e.* on the payment of the fine, all the relatives of the murdered man lay aside their enmity, and that feud ceases. 22. **Publicum,** *the general public.* 23. **Juxta libertatem,** *in connection with freedom; i. e.* in a free state, where the individual will is less coerced by law. 24. **Convictibus,** in the case of friends and neighbors; **hospitiis,** in the case of strangers. **Effusius,** *more extensively.* Cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 23. 26. **Pro fortuna,** *according to his means.* **Apparatis,** *with well furnished.* **Excipit,** *entertains.* 27. **Cum defecere,** *sc.* epulae. **Modo,** *but just now.* **Hospes,** here *the host.* **Monstrator hospitii,** *i. e.* he shows him

a neighbor's house where he can be entertained, and goes there 27
himself, **comes.** 28. **Non invitati,** *i. e.* without being invited.

1–6. **Nec interest,** *i. e.* whether they are invited or not. **Pari** 28
humanitate, *with the same kindness,* as if they had been specially invited. 2. **Quantum — hospitis,** *as far as concerns the right of the guest* to hospitality. Cf. Agric. 44. 3. **Abeunti — moris,** *it is the custom to give to one departing, if he should ask for anything.* **Moris** is predicate genitive of quality. 4. **Facilitas,** *freedom.* 5. **Nec imputant,** lit., *they neither charge* to one's account; *they neither regard as an obligation.* 6. **Victus — comis,** *the manner of life between hosts and guests is courteous;* though in the absence of strangers, and among themselves, they may be quarrelsome, as we learn in the next chapter.

7–18. "Every German usage noticed in this chapter is in pointed contrast with Roman habits." **E** = *immediately after.* **In diem,** *till daylight.* 8. **Lavantur,** *they wash themselves,* bathe: clearly with the force of a Greek middle verb. **Calida,** *sc.* aqua. **Ut apud quos** = *since among them;* a relative clause assigning a reason, in which the verb is generally in the subjunctive, especially when the relative is strengthened by *ut, quippe,* etc. **Plurimum** = *most of the year.* 9. **Singulis sedes,** *sc.* sunt, *each one has, etc.* 12. **Nulli probrum,** *sc.* est. 13. **Ut inter vinolentos,** *sc.* fieri solet, *as happens, etc.* 15. **In vicem,** *mutually.* **Jungendis,** *contracting.* 16. **Asciscendis,** admitting, *i. e. electing.* 17. **Nullo,** *at no other.* 18. **Simplices,** *undisguised.* **Magis pateat,** *is more open.*

19–28. **Astuta — callida.** Men are **astuti** (*cunning*) by nature; **callidi** (*shrewd*) by experience. See Hill, pp. 119–122. 20. **Adhuc,** *still,* to this day. **Licentia,** *in the freedom.* 21. **Detecta — mens,** *sc.* est. **Retractatur** = *the matter is again discussed;* the negotiation is renewed; impersonally. 22. **Salva — est,** *the account of both occasions is safe;* a business phrase: "*salva ratio* is properly used when the debtor and creditor sides of an account balance one another." S. The thought is still farther expanded in the words **deliberant — possunt.** Truth is elicited at the entertainment; and sober second thought guides to the proper use of it. 25. **Potui humor,** *sc.* est iis, *they have as a drink, etc.* The reference is to ale and beer, for which the Romans had no name. **Frumento,** here wheat. 26. **Corruptus** only implies that if the **humor** in question were regarded as wine, it would be very poor wine; it might, at the same time, be good ale or beer. **Ripae,** *sc.* Rheni. 27. **Cibi simplices,** *sc.* sunt. **Poma,** *fruits.* **Recens fera,** we

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28 may translate *fresh venison;* properly, fresh game of any kind. Cf. Caes. B. G. IV. 1; VI. 22. **28. Lac concretum,** *curdled milk,* curds. Cf. Virg. Georg. III. 463. **Apparatu,** *elegance of preparation.* **Blandimentis,** in general, *incentives to appetite;* which may be either *dainties,* delicacies (K., T.), or *condiments,* seasoning (S.).

29 **2–14. Ebrietati,** dative; **suggerendo,** instrumental ablative. **3. Vitiis quam armis.** Illustrations of this statement are given in Hist. IV. 79; Ann. I. 50. **6. Nudi,** *slightly clad;* as before, and frequently. **Quibus — est,** *for whom it is a sport;* "not whose business it is to furnish the amusement: that would be *quorum* est." T. **7. Infestas** = *menacing;* pointed at them. **8. Artem,** *skill.* **Ars,** *sc.* paravit. **Non in quaestum,** as was the case with Roman jugglers and mountebanks. **9. Quamvis audacis,** *however daring;* as daring as you please. **10. Mirere,** *you may wonder at;* potential subjunctive. **11. Inter seria,** *among their serious occupations.* Gambling, except at the Saturnalia, was forbidden by Roman laws. **12. Extremo ac novissimo,** *with their last and final.* The two superlatives greatly emphasize the desperate character of the play. **14. Juvenior** for *junior* is extremely rare.

15–28. Venire, from *veneo.* **16. Ea** = *such;* agreeing with **pervicacia. Prava,** ablative. **Fidem,** *honor.* **17. Per commercia tradunt,** *they dispose of in commerce,* i. e. to foreigners, for the reason mentioned in the next clause. **18. Pudore,** *from the disgrace,* i. e. of holding their countrymen as slaves on their native soil. **Exsolvant** = *liberent.* **19. Ceteris servis,** captured in war, etc. **Descriptis — ministeriis,** *in services distributed among all the slaves.* **Familiam** is here the whole body of slaves belonging to one master. In *Becker's Gallus* we have an account of the manifold subdivision of slave duties in a large Roman household. **20. Quisque,** *each slave.* **21. Sedem,** *house and home;* it implies more than *domus.* **Penates** = *domestic affairs.* **22. Colono,** a farmer who rented the land which he cultivated. **23. Hactenus paret,** *thus far is in subjection,* i. e. to the extent of paying to the owner a part of the produce. **Domus, uxor, liberi,** of the master. **24. Opere,** *with hard work.* The Roman master had absolute power over his slaves, and often used it with extreme severity. **27. Impune est,** *i. e.* to kill a slave. **27. Liberti,** *freedmen.* A manumitted slave was *libertus* (that is, *liberatus*) with reference to his master; with reference to the class to which he belonged after

manumission, he was *libertinus*. Dict. Antiqq. **28. Domo,** *i. e.* of *their* former masters. 29

1–16. Quae regnantur, *which are governed by kings.* **3. Impares libertini,** *the inferior* (condition of the) *freedmen,* i. e. when compared with the free born and the high born. Observe that **libertini** denotes the same persons as **liberti**; but a moment ago, as Tacitus was speaking of freedmen in their relations to their masters, he used **liberti**; and speaking of them now as a class or distinct body, he uses **libertini. Libertatis argumentum,** *a proof of freedom;* because freemen valued their rights and their citizenship too highly to confer them on freedmen. Freedmen at Rome, especially under the emperors, often acquired great wealth and influence, and even posts of honor, to the exclusion of the nobility. **5. Fenus agitare** = *to exact interest* for money lent. **Et — extendere** (*sc.* fenus), *and to put it* (the interest) *on interest,* i. e. to exact compound interest. This sentence is a difficult one. Commentators, however, agree in giving the explanation just given. "When *usura* and *fenus* appear in the same sentence, the former always suggests what is more oppressive to the debtor than the latter." Hill, p. 779. **6. Magis servatur,** *it* (the practice of not exacting interest) *is more observed.* We may supply *non fenerari* as subject. Usury *was forbidden* at Rome by severe laws, but Tacitus has already said of the Germans, "*plus ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.*" **7. Pro,** *in proportion to.* **Universis,** *entire bodies* of the people, communities, clans, or tribes. For **in vices** (*by turns*), one MS. has **vicis** (*villages*), which Kritz adopts. Cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 22. **10. Per annos** = *every year,* annually. **Arva, agri, camporum, terrae, soli,** all occur in this chapter. **Terra** is opposed to *mare* and *caelum;* **solum** is the solid ground, the soil; **campus** is a plain or field; **ager** is properly the territory round a city; **arvum** is ploughed land (from *aro,* to plough). S., T. **11. Cum — contendunt,** *i. e.* they do not strive by their labor to call forth all the capabilities of their extensive and fertile land. **13. Imperatur,** *is imposed,* is required. **14. In totidem,** *i. e.* as the Romans. **Species,** *kinds, i. e.* seasons. **16. Autumni.** "Accordingly in English, spring, summer, and winter, are Saxon words, while autumn is of Latin origin." T. **Bona,** *the blessings,* the advantages. 30

17–29. Ambitio, *ostentatious display.* At Rome funerals were often conducted with great magnificence. **19. Struem rogi** = *the funeral pile.* **20. Quorundam,** *i. e.* of the chiefs. Rude nations

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30 generally believe that their needs and occupations after death will be the same as in this life. **21. Sepulcrum — erigit,** *a turf erects a tomb,* instead of "*sepulcrum caespite erigitur.*" K. **Arduum,** *lofty.* **22. Gravem,** *pressing heavily on;* "pondere suo ac mole defunctos prementem." K. Compare with this the expression found in epitaphs, "*sit tibi terra levis.*" **24. Feminis — meminisse.** Compare Seneca, Ep. 100, Vir prudens meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat. **26. In commune,** *in general,* generally. **27. Instituta,** *the usages,* civil and military; **ritus,** *the rites* or ceremonies of religion. **29. Gallias.** See note on line 9, page 17.

31 **1–8.** Though critics, geographers, and ethnographers, have endeavored to define the precise locality of the several German tribes mentioned by Tacitus in the following chapters, their labors have been attended with unsatisfactory, and even contradictory results. Indeed, little else was scarcely to be expected from the roving and unsettled character of these tribes. A few years sufficed to introduce great changes in their relative positions. To follow them in their movements, and to identify and localize them at every step, would be as difficult as to trace the ever-shifting objects of a kaleidoscope. The accounts of ancient geographers, both Greek and Latin, are confused and contradictory, and modern writers have only partly succeeded in extricating the subject from the maze in which they found it. **1. Validiores.** Cf. Caes. B. G. VI. 24. **Summus auctor,** *a very high authority;* not, a very great author; as the reference is to Caesar's credibility as a writer. **2. Divus,** *the divine,* the deified. As previously remarked, this epithet was applied to deceased Roman emperors after the death of Augustus. **Eo,** *therefore;* ablative of cause. **4. Amnis,** *i. e.* Rhenus. **Quo minus occuparet** = *its taking possession of;* lit. that it should the less occupy. **5. Permutaret,** *i. e.* take in exchange for their previous abodes. **Promiscuas** = *unclaimed,* open to the first comer. **6. Nulla — divisas** (*apportioned*), *i. e.* not apportioned among regularly constituted kingdoms. **Hercyniam silvam,** a range of mountains and forests in Germany, the extent and situation of which are described very differently by the writers of different ages. At a later period, when the mountains of Germany had become better known to the Romans, the name Hercynia Silva was applied to the more limited range of mountains extending around Bohemia, and through Moravia and Hungary. Dict. Geog. **7. Moenum,** *the Main.* **8. Ulteriora,** *sc.* loca, *the district beyond.*

9-28. Boihaemi (Boihemi, Boiohemi, etc.), *of Boihaemum;* 31
genitive probably, from *Boihaemum;* though some consider the word in the plural here, meaning the people; from *Boii* and *heim,* "the home of the Boii;" whence the name Bohemia. **10. Memoriam,** *tradition.* **11. Germanorum natione,** *i. e.* their present situation is among the Germans. In chapter 43, Tacitus concludes from their use of the Pannonian language that they were not German. **13. Eodem,** as the Aravisci. **14. Pari — erant,** *the advantages and disadvantages of either bank were formerly in equal freedom and in equal poverty.* Both banks had the same advantages in respect to freedom, and the same disadvantages in respect to poverty. **15. Utriusque ripae,** of the Danube; on the right bank of which were the Aravisci, and on the left the Osi. **16. Circa,** *in respect to,* in. This meaning and use of the word are post-Augustan. **Ultro,** *actually,* really. **19. Haud dubie** = *undoubtedly;* modifying **Germanorum populi. 21. Meruerint,** *deserved,* earned by their long services to the Roman people. "In later Latin **quamvis** and **quamquam** change parts. In Tacitus, for instance, **quamquam** regularly has the subjunctive." C. 204, 2, 1; H. 515, III. N. 1-3; A. 313, *e-g;* G. 608, Rem. 1; Z. 574, Note. **22. Agrippinenses,** from Agrippina, wife of the emperor Claudius. Cf. Ann. XII. 27. **Sui** agrees with **conditoris** in the masculine, though the latter refers to Agrippina. **23. Experimento,** *on proof,* in consequence of the proof; ablat. of cause. **Super,** *on.* **24. Arcerent,** sc. foes, transrhenanos. **26. Gentium,** partitive genitive limiting **praecipui,** *distinguished* (*among*). **27. Non — ripa,** *not much of the bank,* i. e. a small portion of the bank. **28. Seditione,** ablative of cause, *on account of, etc.*

2-12. Fierent, subjunct. in a relative clause expressing a result, 32
in quibus = *ut in iis.* C. 223, 1, and N. 1; H. 503, I; A. 320; G. 633; Z. 556. **3. Insigne,** *the badge;* that mentioned in the following sentence. **4. Publicanus,** *the tax collector,* the farmer of the revenues. The revenues which Rome derived from conquered countries were let out, or, as the Romans expressed it, were sold by the censors in Rome itself to the highest bidder. The farming of the revenues was almost exclusively in the hands of the equites or wealthy equestrian order. Dict. Antiqq. **Atterit** = (*does*) *impoverish* them. The word forcibly reminds us of that *grinding* extortion for which the Roman tax-gatherer was too often notorious. **Oneribus,** the ordinary taxes; **collationibus,** extraordinary contributions and gratuities. **6. Obsequio,** *allegiance,* obedience.

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32 9. **In sua ripa,** *i. e.* in patria terra. K. 10. **Cetera,** *in other respects;* accus. of specification. 11. **Adhuc,** *yet,* still; to be taken with **ipso solo** and **caelo.** 12. **Acrius animantur,** *they are roused to a fiercer courage.*

13–28. **Non numeraverim,** *I shall not number,* may not number; subjunctive of doubtful affirmation, or of cautious statement (potential subjunctive). 14. **Quamquam consederint.** See note and references, line 21, page 31. 15. **Decumates agros,** *tithe-lands.* The Romans very commonly exacted a tithe from those who occupied the public lands. Such lands are usually called *decumani;* but Tacitus employs a *new* word here, because the lands in question did not form a distinct province, but were an appendage to Upper Germany. S. **Exercent** = colunt. **Levissimus — audax,** *all the most restless of the Gauls and daring poverty.* 17. **Limite acto,** *the boundary line having been drawn* (established). 18. **Sinus imperii,** *the projecting frontier of the empire.* 20. **Effusis,** *extensive,* spread out into a broad surface. 21. **Durant — rarescunt,** *if the hills do indeed continue* (i. e. a considerable distance), *they gradually become fewer.* Such seems to us to be the meaning of this vexed passage. Tacitus has just said in effect, that the country of the Chatti, beginning with the Hercynian forest, is more hilly than those of other German tribes; and as he is following the direction of the Chatti (and not of the hills), he adds that though the hills do indeed continue, yet they gradually become fewer in the direction of the Chatti; and finally **et Chatti — deponit,** *and the Hercynian forest at once accompanies and leaves behind* (lit. sets down) *its Chatti.* The hills leave the Chatti behind by changing their direction. The reading and punctuation of the passage is different in different editions. The expression **et Chattos — deponit** is beautifully bold and poetic. 24. **Stricti,** *compact,* close-knit. 25. **Ut inter Germanos** = *for Germans,* considering they are Germans. 26. **Rationis,** *of system,* method. **Praeponere.** This and the other infinitives are in apposition with **multum — sollertiae;** *to place over themselves chosen men.* **Audire,** *to obey.* 27. **Ordines,** *ranks,* military ranks and discipline in battle. 28. **Disponere,** *to distribute* the labors or duties of; to portion off. **Vallare noctem,** *to fortify the night,* i. e. against attack at night. The expression is figurative and poetical.

33 1–9. **Quodque** = et quod, *and what;* sc. est. 2. **Nec nisi concessum,** lit. *and not granted except* = *and granted only.* For **Romanae,** which has good MS. authority, some editors read *ratione.*

4. **Super,** *besides.* **Ferramentis,** *with iron tools,* axes, spades, pick-axes, etc. 5. **Copiis,** *with provisions.* **Proelium,** *a battle,* a single engagement; **ad bellum,** *to war,* a series of battles. **Videas,** *you may see;* potential subjunctive, with the imaginary second person. "In the age of Tacitus, the wars carried on by the Romans were only against undisciplined barbarians; so that order and discipline might, with some reason, be claimed as peculiar to the Romans." S. 6. **Fortuita pugna,** *sc.* est rara, which, however, is implied in the preceding **rari.** **Equestrium — cedere,** a general remark on cavalry engagements, and, therefore, not applicable to the Chatti, who had no cavalry: (for) *this is certainly characteristic of cavalry forces, etc.* 8. **Velocitas** applies to cavalry, **cunctatio** to infantry. **Juxta formidinem,** (*is*) *akin to fear;* because it may avoid danger by running away. 9. **Constantiae,** *to firmness,* steady courage. 33

10–16. **Et aliis — raro,** *and what is rarely practised by other tribes of Germans.* **Populis,** dat. of the agent after the participle **usurpatum,** which is the subject of **vertit.** 11. **Privata — audentia,** *by the individual boldness of each.* **In consensum,** *into a custom.* 12. **Ut primum,** *as soon as.* The subjunctive **adoleverint** refers the thought to the Chatti (oratio obliqua). 13. **Submittere,** *to let grow,* = promittere. **Votivum — habitum,** *the habit of the face vowed and pledged to valor,* i. e. the bearded face, which was an evidence that they had devoted themselves to valor. 14. **Sanguinem et spolia,** *i. e.* of a slain enemy. 15. **Revelant frontem,** *they uncover the face* by removing beard and hair. 16. **Retulisse,** *have paid* to their parents and country. **Dignos,** *sc.* esse.

18–28. **Insuper,** *moreover,* besides. 19. **Genti,** the German nation generally. 20. **Hic habitus,** *this appearance,* wearing the iron ring. **Placet** and **insignes** imply that such warriors preferred to continue wearing the ring even after they had been released from it by killing an enemy. 21. **Cānent.** Notice the quantity of the penult. **Insignes,** *wearing the badge* of the iron ring. 22. **Initia,** *sc.* sunt. 23. **Acies,** *line of battle;* they form the first line. **Visu nova,** *strange to behold;* **visu** is the supine, not the noun *visus;* since Tacitus is speaking of the effect to be produced, and is not simply describing. 24. **Mansuescunt,** *do they soften.* **Nulli,** *i. e.* of this class of warriors. **Domus,** *sc.* est. 25. **Aliqua cura,** *i. e.* in regard to the means of living. 26. **Alieni** = *of what belongs to another;* genitive limiting **prodigi.** **Sui,** from **suus;** *of what is their own.* **Exsanguis,** bloodless, *i. e. pale, wan,* and so

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33 *enfeebled.* **27. Donec — faciat.** Tacitus shows a fondness for the subjunctive with **donec** even when he is stating undoubted facts. **28.** Order: Usipi ac Tencteri, proximi Chattis, colunt Rhenum jam certum alveo. **Certum—Rhenum,** *the Rhine now fixed* (well defined) *in its channel;* i. e. in this part of its course the channel is narrow and deep, and is not made irregular by islands and tributaries. **Rhenum** for *Rheni ripam.*

34 **1–9. Quique — sufficiat,** *and such that it suffices to be a boundary;* i. e. the river is too wide and deep to admit of its being easily crossed by invaders. Notice **qui** = *talis ut,* thus making **sufficiat** subjunctive of characteristic. **4. Tencteris** = *apud Tencteros,* which would be more regular. It may be called a dative of advantage. **5. Hi lusus** (sunt), *these are the sports;* i. e. equestrian exercises. Kritz explains thus: equuleis ex ligno factis (*infantium*) insidentium eosque exercentium. **7. Inter familiam,** *among the slaves.* The idea is, among several things to be inherited, horses are specially included. **Penates,** *the homestead.* T. **Jura successionum,** *rights of succession,* rights acquired by succession; "*heirlooms.*" T. This seems to be the sense required here by the context, though Kritz explains the expression to mean regulations pertaining to inheritances; "*constitutiones de adeunda hereditate.*" **8. Excipit — melior,** *the eldest son inherits* (the horses), *not as* (he inherits) *the other property, but according as he is high-spirited and superior in war;* i. e. though the other property is inherited by the eldest son, the horses become the inheritance of that son who is the best warrior, whether the eldest or not.

12–20. Consensu, *by a coalition.* **13. Odio,** *from hatred;* ablat. of cause. **14. Nam — invidere** (*sc.* nobis), *they* (the gods) *did not grudge us even in the spectacle of the battle,* but wrought the slaughter of our enemies by their own hands. **Spectaculo** is sufficiently explained as an ablat. of specification. **15. Super,** *more than,* above. **17. Oblectationi oculisque,** a hendiadys for *oblectationi oculorum;* dative of the end or purpose. **Maneat,** *may there remain;* subjunct. of wish. **18. At certe,** *yet at least.* **19. Sui,** *of each other;* in a reciprocal sense. **Quando,** *since.* **Urgentibus — fatis,** *in the impending fate of the empire:* when the empire with its too vast burden moves laboring to its doom.

21–28. A tergo cludunt, *inclose in their rear,* towards the east. **22. Haud — memoratae,** *not equally well-known* with the Dulgi-

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bini and Chasuarii. **23. A fronte excipiunt,** *succeed* (are next to) *them in front,* towards the west. **24. Ex — virium,** *from the measure of their power,* according to their power. **25. Usque ad,** *all the way to.* **Praetexuntur,** *are bordered,* bounded. The metaphor is probably drawn from the toga, which was inclosed by a purple border. **26. Ambiunt,** = *they occupy the borders of.* **Lacus,** which, being overflowed by the ocean, are now united in the Zuyder Zee. **Et,** *even.* **27. Quin etiam** (nay even) = *moreover.* **Illa,** *in that quarter;* an adverb, used chiefly by Plautus and Tacitus. **28. Herculis columnas.** The "Pillars of Hercules" generally denote the twin rocks which guard the entrance of the Mediterranean, at the eastern extremity of the straits of Gibraltar, and which, according to the legend, mark the western limit reached by the ubiquitous Hercules. Other "Pillars of Hercules" are, however, mentioned; and those named in the text stood in the *Sound,* between Denmark and Sweden. 34

3–6. Druso Germanico, brother of Tiberius. The senate conferred on Drusus the title Germanicus; it was his son, however, that was particularly distinguished by this epithet. Hence Kritz, reading **Druso, Germanico,** makes Tacitus refer to both father and son. The asyndeton is, however, exceedingly harsh. **4. Obstitit inquiri,** *prevented investigations being made.* **In se,** *i. e.* in oceanum. **Simul atque** = *both — and.* **In Herculem,** *i. e.* in connection with his "Pillars." **5. Temptavit,** *sc.* oceanum. **Sanctius,** *more pious.* **6. Visum** (est). **De actis — scire,** *i. e.* to exercise faith rather than have real knowledge; a pious afterthought, making a virtue of a necessity. 35

7–11. Hactenus, *thus far;* this is the extent of my knowledge of Germany towards the west. **8. Ingenti flexu,** *by a vast sweep;* referring to Jutland, the Cimbric Chersonese, "which Tacitus conceived to be rather curved and round than angular and pointed." S. **Primo statim** = *at the very outset,* at the beginning of the bend. **9. Chaucorum.** Their name is still preserved in that of their harbor, *Cuxhaven.* S. **Incipiat.** In the best authors **quamquam** generally takes the indicative; in Tacitus it regularly takes the subjunctive. **11. Lateribus obtenditur,** *is stretched along the flanks;* i. e. the Chauci occupy the country east of those nations as far as the Elbe (Albis). **In Chattos — sinuetur** = *it extends in a curve as far as the Chatti;* curving in a general southeast direction to the Chatti on the south.

13–21. Et implent, *they even fill it,* and thus prove their vast

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35 numbers. **14.** Notice **quique** = et talis ut is (*and one that*), with subjunctive of characteristic, **malit.** **15. Tueri,** *to uphold.* **15. Sine impotentia,** *without weakness,* i. e. with a consciousness of subdued power and dignity. **Secretique,** *and retired,* keeping aloof from others. **18. Ut superiores agant,** (*that they hold the rank of superiors*) is the object of **assequuntur,** *they attain.* **19. Omnibus,** *sc.* sunt; *they all have.* **20. Exercitus,** *sc.* iis est. **Plurimum** = *a very great number.* **21.** Et (iis) **quiescentibus** (est), *and when at peace they have.* **Eadem fama,** *sc.* quae in bello.

23–28. Marcentem, *an enervating,* enfeebling. **Diu,** from its position, seems to modify **marcentem;** it may, however, be applied with equal force to **illacessiti** (= *from having been unattacked*), or to **nutrierunt.** **24. Quam tutius,** *than safe.* When two adjectives or adverbs are compared with each other, both are put in the comparative. C. 53, 2; H. 444, 2; A. 192; G. 314; Z. 690. Tacitus sometimes uses the positive in one part of the proposition. **25. Impotentes,** *the ungovernable,* the violent, who exercise no self-control. **Falso quiescas** (potential subjunctive), *you may repose mistakenly;* if you repose in the hope of security, you may be very much mistaken. **Ubi — agitur** = *when the question turns on force* (when the contest is decided by the sword). **26. Modestia** (*moderation*) — **superioris sunt,** *i. e.* moderation and mildness belong only to those who, having the power to injure, refrain from injury. Ita Cherusci qui olim (vocati sunt) boni aequique. **27. Boni aequique,** *brave and just,* when they were as ready for war as for peace. **Inertes,** *cowardly.* **28. Chattis victoribus,** *in the case of the victorious Chatti;* dative of advantage. **Fortuna — cessit,** *their good luck passed for wisdom.*

36 **1–3. Tracti ruina,** *dragged down by the downfall;* involved in the ruin; like a falling body dragging down others in its fall. **Et,** *also.* **2. Adversarum rerum,** *of their adversity.* **Ex aequo,** *in an equal degree,* on equal terms. **3. Cum,** *although;* hence, **fuissent,** *they had been,* is subjunctive of concession. C. 204, 2, 1, and 214, 3; H. 515, III; A. 326; G. 588. **In secundis,** *sc.* rebus, *in prosperity.* **Minores,** *their inferiors,* less powerful.

4–14. Eundem sinum, *the same projecting frontier;* Jutland, to which Tacitus refers in *ingenti flexu,* chapter 35. **5. Gloria,** ablative of specification; or, with Kritz, *sc. ejus,* and make it nominative. **6. Utraque ripa,** *sc.* in, *on each bank,* probably of the Rhine; according to some commentators, of the Rhine and

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Danube; according to others, each shore of the Cimbric Chersonese or Jutland. 7. **Castra ac spatia** seems clearly to be hendiadys for *castrorum spatia* = *spacious encampments.* Another instance of the fondness of Tacitus for poetic expressions. 8. **Molem manusque** = *the vast numbers and forces.* Some find a hendiadys here, and translate, *the immense military forces.* The sense is nearly the same in either case. **Exitus,** *migration,* into Gaul. The word is rare in this sense. But compare Caes. B. G. I. 5. **Fidem,** *the credibility.* 9. **Annum,** corresponding to 113 B. C. 10. **Agebat,** *was passing.* 11. **Ex quo,** *sc.* tempore. 12. **Alterum,** *the second.* **Ad — consulatum** (A. D. 98), at which time, of course, Tacitus was engaged in the composition of this work. Hence the passage is important in this respect. 13. **Colliguntur,** *are summed up,* are comprised. 14. **Vincitur,** the present tense, implying that the conquest was still incomplete. 36

14–28. **Medio spatio,** *during the interval,* in which **medio** is nearly equivalent to *during.* 15. **In vicem,** in turn = *reciprocal,* mutual. **Samnis,** *the Samnite,* i. e. the Samnites, the most stubborn of the Italian enemies of Rome. 16. **Hispaniae,** *the* (two) *Spains,* the two divisions of Spain, separated by the Iberus (Ebro). **Galliae,** *the Gauls,* Transalpine and Cisalpine. 17. **Saepius admonuere,** *have more frequently reminded us* of the inconstancy of fortune, which has not always been on our side. **Arsăcis,** *of Arsaces,* the founder of the Parthian monarchy. **Acrior,** *more vigorous.* 19. **Amisso — dejectus,** *itself even* (i. e. the East), *in a Pacŏrus lost, humbled beneath a Ventidius.* Pacŏrus was the son of the Parthian king, and was conquered by Ventidius, a man of low origin, a dealer in mules. Hence the force of **infra.** 20. **Objecerit,** *has* (the East) *thrown up* to us; or, to taunt us with. Subjunctive in a question of appeal (deliberative or dubitative subjunctive). C. 205, 1; H. 486, II; A. 268; G. 251; Z. 530. 23. **Populo,** dative of disadvantage; translate, *from.* 24. **Caesari,** *i. e.* Augustus. 26. **Nero,** Claudius Tiberius Nero, afterwards the emperor Tiberius. Germanicus was the son of Drusus. 27. **C. Caesaris,** Caligula. **Ludibrium,** *ridicule,* derision. **Versae** (sunt). 28. **Otium,** *peace,* sc. fuit. **Discordiae nostrae** refers to the civil wars between Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian.

2–3. **Etiam affectavere,** *they even aimed at,* strove to gain possession of. **Proximis temporibus,** *in latter times.* 3. **Triumphati — victi sunt.** Tacitus alludes particularly to the reign of 37

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37 Domitian, who celebrated a triumph over the Chatti whom he had not even seen.

4–18. **Suebis** = Suevis, which form also occurs. 6. **Propriis — discreti,** *still distinguished by particular tribes and names.* 8. **Insigne — substringere,** *it is a distinctive mark of the race to turn the hair back and to tie it up in a knot,* on the crown of the head. **Obliquare** means simply to turn out of the natural direction, *i. e.* in the present case, instead of combing the hair down, to comb it up towards the top of the head. 11. **Aliqua,** *on account of some;* **cognatione** being ablative of cause. 12. **Rarum,** *sc.* est, *i. e.* the custom just mentioned. 13. **Horrentem capillum,** *their bristly hair;* giving them a wild and threatening aspect. Cf. Milton, P. L. II. 710:

> "and from his horrid hair
> Shakes pestilence and war."

14. **Retro sequuntur** = *they turn back;* lit. they follow back, *sc.* pectine vel manu. The expression is a singular one, and is probably here intended to be equivalent to **obliquare**. **Vertice,** *crown,* top of the head. 15. **Ornatiorem,** *sc.* capillum. **Ea** = talis. **Formae,** *for their appearance.* 16. **Innoxia,** *i. e.* it neither leads to effeminacy, nor is the result of it. **Neque — ornantur,** *for they are not adorned for the purpose of making love or of being loved,* (but), *when about to go to wars, for a certain loftiness of stature and for striking terror, being arrayed as it were for the eyes of the enemy.* The text is various here, and different editors punctuate differently. In both respects we follow Kritz. In **compti — oculis** there is an implied contrast between the Suevi, who deck themselves to terrify the enemy, and lovers who seek to captivate the eyes of their loves. Cf. cap. 43: "*Nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.*"

20–28. **Fides,** *the credibility.* **Religione,** *by a religious rite.* 21. **Stato,** from *sisto.* **Auguriis — sacram,** a hexameter verse. 22. **Prisca formidine,** *by ancient awe.* 23. **Legationibus** = *by their representatives.* **Publice,** *by public authority.* 24. **Primordia,** *beginning.* The remainder of the rite Tacitus does not state. 25. **Luco,** the *silvam* of line 21. 26. **Ut minor,** *as an inferior being.* **Prae se ferens** = *openly acknowledging.* 28. **Evolvuntur** = se evolvunt, in a middle sense; *they roll themselves out.* **Eo respicit** = (looks back to this) *has this in view,* implies this. **Superstitio,** any religious observance, rite, or belief, that, to a Roman, was not orthodox.

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1–5. Inde, *from thence,* i. e. ex ea silva, referring to the indigenous origin of the race. **Initia,** *sc.* sint. **2. Deus,** i. e. Tuisto. Cf. c. 2. **Adjicit auctoritatem,** *adds weight, sc.* superstitioni illi. **4. Corporis,** *sc.* civitatis. 38

6–16. Langobardos, the correct form of the name; the MSS. have Longobardi. **Paucitas nobilitat,** *i. e.* though few in number, by their valor they maintained their position among the tribes surrounding them. **7. Cincti,** = *though surrounded,* the participle denoting concession. **8. Et periclitando,** *and by encountering danger,* running risks. **11. In singulis,** *among them individually.* **12. Nerthum** is the form given in most of the MSS. Some give *Herthum.* The word is evidently the same as the German *Erde,* and the English *Earth.* **Matrem,** *as their mother.* **13. Intervenire** = *takes part in.* **Invehi populis,** *that she visits the nations in a chariot.* Observe that *inveho* in the passive means *to ride, sail, drive,* etc. **14. Insula oceani.** Rugen is believed by most scholars to be the island referred to. **15. Dicatum,** *a consecrated.* **16. Concessum** (est).

16–28. Is. Notice the presence of the pronoun, and that it is therefore emphatic; *he* knows — to him it is given to know. **Adesse penetrali,** *is present in her sanctuary.* By **penetrali** is meant the *vehiculum veste contectum.* **17. Bubus feminis.** When the names of animals are of the common gender, the word *mas* or *femina* is added, if the sex of a particular animal is to be stated. Z. 42. **Vectam — feminis,** *drawn by cows.* **18. Festa** (sunt) = *have a holiday appearance.* **21. Tunc tantum,** *then only.* **Nota** may be neuter plural, or feminine singular (agreeing with the nearest noun, quies). **23. Templo,** *to her temple,* the grove before mentioned. *Templum* does not imply any building; it merely means a space marked out. So, in Greek, τέμενος, from τέμνω, *to cut.* **24. Secreto,** *in a sequestered,* secluded. **25. Abluitur,** to wash away the pollution arising from intercourse with mortals. **Ministrant** = *perform the duties.* **26. Haurit,** *swallows up.* The slaves were drowned in order that the imposture of the priests might not be divulged. **Sancta ignorantia,** *pious ignorance,* which thinks it better "*de actis deorum credere quam scire.*" **27. Tantum perituri,** *only those doomed to perish.* **28. Secretiora,** *the more remote parts,* towards the north.

1–10. Propior, *i. e.* to the Romans. **Quo modo** (quomodo) = *as.* 39
2. Rhenum, *sc.* secutus sum. **3. Eoque,** *and on that account,* because faithful to the Romans. **Solis Germanorum,** *sc.* est, *they*

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39 *alone of the Germans* have. **4. Non,** *i. e. not only,* not merely. **Penitus,** *far inland.* **5. Colonia,** generally supposed to be Augusta Vindelicorum, now Augsburg. **6. Cum,** *although,* with subjunctive of concession, **ostendamus. 9. Albis,** the Elbe. **Olim,** through the expeditions of Drusus, Domitius, and Tiberius.

14–21. Parta (est). **15. Eaque — peragitur,** *and this is, as it were, the front of Germany, as far as it is formed by the Danube.* Notice the force of **frons** (rendered emphatic by **velut**), *i. e.* the part which *faces* the Roman possessions. **18. Tudri.** Whether from Tuder or Tudrus is uncertain. **Externos,** *sc.* reges. **19. Vis — regibus,** *sc.* est, *the kings have, etc.* **20. Pecunia juvantur,** to attach them to the interests of Rome, or to purchase their neutrality or their aid. **Nec — valent,** *i. e.* Roman money enabled these dependent kings to exert as much influence among their countrymen as if they were aided by Roman arms.

22–28. Retro, *backward,* farther back; opposed to **frons. Terga claudunt,** *close in the rear.* **24. Cultuque,** *and in their manner of living.* **Referunt,** *resemble;* lit. reproduce. **26. Quod — patiuntur.** This, from a Roman, is paying high tribute to the valor of the liberty-loving Germans. **28. Quo — pudeat** = *to shame them the more,* for submitting to tribute; since, of their iron, they should make swords. **Et,** *also.* **Effodiunt** = *mine.*

40 **1–20. Pauca campestrium,** *but little of the level country.* **2. Saltus,** *the woodlands;* "saltus sunt silvae in locis editioribus." K. **Montium** limits **jugum** (*the ridge*) also. **6. Diffusum,** *spread out,* divided. **9. Muliebri ornatu,** *in rich female attire.* The loose robe of the priest may have been mistaken for female apparel. **10. Interpretatione Romana,** *according to Roman interpretation,* i. e. comparing the attributes of Roman with those of German gods. **11. Ea vis numini,** *such is the force of their divinity;* i. e. it corresponds to that of Castor and Pollux. **Nomen Alcis,** sc. iis est, *their name is Alci.* **Alcis** is dative plural. **12. Superstitionis,** *religious rites.* **13. Tamen,** *yet;* i. e. although we cannot suppose the Germans to have borrowed the worship of the brothers Castor and Pollux, *yet they do worship* the Alci *as brothers.* **Venerantur** is transitive. **14. Super vires,** *besides their* (military) *strength.* **15. Truces,** *grimly,* as an adverb. **Arte ac tempore,** *by art and time,* as is immediately explained. **16. Lenocinantur,** *they pander to* = they increase. **17. Ipsaque — inferunt,** *and by the natural dread and spectral aspect of their ghostly army they inspire terror.* **Ipsa formidine,** *i. e.* the very dread which the time and character

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of their attack inspire = *the natural dread.* **Umbra exercitus,** *i. e.* 40
a spectral host, dim and shadowy in outline, while **feralis** conveys the additional idea that the host has been reanimated from the tomb or returned from the realm of shades. The expression is highly imaginative and poetical. Compare Tennyson, *Guinevere:*

> "and more and more
> The moony vapor rolling round the King,
> Who seemed the phantom of a Giant in it,
> Enwound him fold by fold, and made him gray
> And grayer, till himself became as mist
> Before her, moving ghostlike to his doom."

Kritz makes **exercitus** limit **terrorem.** **19. Novum,** *their strange.*

21–28. Regnantur, *i. e.* have a king. **Jam,** *now,* in this part of our survey of the German tribes, implying that as we go northward we shall find less liberty and more power in the ruler. Hence also the force of **nondum.** **22. Adductius,** *with a tighter rein,* more strictly. A metaphor taken from *adducere habenas,* to tighten the reins. **23. Supra** = *incompatible with.* **Protinus,** *further on,* straight on towards the north. **Ab,** *along,* by. Oceano, *i. e.* mari Baltico. **24. Rugii,** from whom the island of Rugen derives its name. **25. Obsequium,** *a willing allegiance.* **27. Suionum civitates.** Under this title Tacitus designates the tribes of Scandinavia (Norway and Sweden), which he supposed to be an island; hence, **ipso in oceano,** *i. e.* the Baltic. **28. Differt,** *i. e.* from others.

1–12. Utrimque, *at both ends* of the ship. **Frontem agit,** *acts* 41
as a forepart. **2. Ministrantur,** *they are worked.* **In ordinem,** *in a* (regular) *row,* in a fixed order. **3. Adjungunt,** *sc.* naves, by a sort of personification. **Solutum et mutabile remigium,** *sc.* est, *the oars are loose and capable of being shifted.* **4. Res,** *occasion.* **Hinc vel illinc,** *to this or that side* of the vessel. **5. Est opibus honos,** *wealth has its honor.* **Eo,** *on that account,* on account of his superior wealth. **6. Jam,** *now,* here, among these tribes. **Non — parendi,** *with no precarious right of obedience,* i. e. with an absolute claim upon their obedience, from which no entreaty could discharge them. **7. In promiscuo,** *indiscriminately,* at the disposal of all. **8. Et quidem,** *and that, too.* **9. Otiosae,** *idle.* Some editors read (with MSS.) *otiosa.* **10. Lasciviunt,** *become demoralized.* **Enimvero,** *and in fact.* **12. Regia — est,** *it is the interest of a king.* **Regia** = *regis* or *regum.*

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41 13–18. **Suionas,** Greek form of the accusative. **Aliud mare,** i. e. the Northern or Arctic ocean. **Pigrum,** *sluggish,* from masses of ice floating in it: hence also the force of **immotum.** 14. **Hinc,** *from this fact;* referring to what follows as the ground of **fides,** sc. est, *the belief is.* 15. **Extremus fulgor,** *the last radiance;* **in ortum,** *till its rising.* The meaning is, that though the sun sets (as it must in latitudes south of 66°), the evening and morning twilight follow each other so closely, that there is no night; at least no night dark enough to show the stars. 17. **Emergentis** (sc. solis) **audiri,** *of his rising is heard.* This is the meaning according to the text. Some editors, however, reject **emergentis** (though found in the MSS.), and conjecture that the sound in question was produced by the Aurora Borealis. It was an ancient fancy that the sun, like hot iron, enters the water with a hissing noise. Hence, "*audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.*" Juv. XIV. 280. This is common with the poets when they describe the setting of the sun. **Formas — aspici,** *and that the forms of the gods and the halos* (radiant glory) *of their heads are seen.* The conjecture may be true, that the Aurora Borealis was the phenomenon which gave rise to these fancies. 18. **Persuasio,** *popular belief.*

18–28. **Illuc usque tantum,** *thus far only;* **natura,** sc. est = *does nature extend;* beyond, he would say, is the ocean which encircles the land. **Et fama vera,** sc. est, the words of Tacitus, assenting to the proposition. 19. **Ergo jam,** *now, therefore;* i. e. since we have reached the limit of nature to the north, *therefore* let us *now* turn towards the east. **Suebici** (= Suevici) **maris,** i. e. the Baltic sea. 20. **Habitus,** *the dress.* 21. **Matrem** deum (= deorum), *i. e. interpretatione Romana,* referring to Nerthus mentioned in chap. 40. 22. **Insigne superstitionis,** *as the symbol of their religious belief;* or, *of their superstition,* from a Roman standpoint. **Formas aprorum,** as amulets, probably. 25. **Fustium usus,** in their personal quarrels. **Frumenta laborant.** An instance of the tendency of Tacitus to condensation in expression, by his forcing a verb usually intransitive into the activity and energy of a transitive verb. 28. **Glesum** is therefore an old German word, with a Latin ending; whence the German *Glas,* English *glass;* from the brightness of the amber.

42 1–9. **Quae natura,** sc. sit ejus. 2. **Ratio,** *process.* **Ut barbaris** = *as they are barbarians;* dative, in apposition with *iis* understood, which is dative of the agent with **quaesitum** (est). 3. **Quin etiam,** *moreover,* besides. **Ejectamenta,** *things thrown up*

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(*by*). The English language has no corresponding word. **4. Nomen**, *i. e.* honorem, nobilitatem. K. **5. Rude**, *crude*. **Perfertur.** By traders through Pannonia to the Adriatic sea, and thence to Rome. **6. Tamen**, *yet*, i. e. though the Germans know nothing of its nature. **Sucum arborum.** The ancient opinion of its vegetable origin seems now to be established, and it is believed or known to be a fossil resin. **7. Terrena**, *land;* living on land, like reptiles. **8. Implicata humore**, (by) *becoming entangled in it in its moist condition*. **9. Cluduntur** = includuntur, *are inclosed in it*. 42

9–17. Fecundiora, etc. Order: crediderim igitur (*I am inclined, therefore, to believe*) sicut orientis secretis (*that as in the remote lands of the East*) ubi tura balsamaque sudantur (*are exuded*), ita inesse insulis terrisque occidentis fecundiora nemora lucosque. **10. Secretis**, *sc.* terris. **11. Insulis**, dative, governed by **inesse**. **12. Quae.** Here the brevity of Tacitus leads him into faulty construction. The relative refers, grammatically, to **nemora lucosque**, while the sense requires it to refer to their productions. **Vicini solis**, *of the sun when near them*, i. e. by the more direct rays of a summer sun. **13. Liquentia**, from **liquor**. **14. Adversa litora**, *opposite shores*, certainly not the shores on the other side, but the shores *opposite* to the previous *seaward* direction of the exudations. **15. Admoto**, *applied to it*. **Igni**, ablative. **16. Pinguem**, *a fatty;* i. e. thick and smoky. **Ut**, *as if*.

18–28. Continuantur = *border on*, are contiguous to; lit. are joined to. **Cetera**, *in other respects;* accusative of specification. **19. Similes**, *sc.* Suionibus. **Uno**, *in one thing;* ablative of specification. **In tantum**, *to such an extent*. **20. A servitute**, in being slaves to a woman instead of a man. **22. Fennorum**, whence doubtless our "Finns." **23.** (Utrum) **Germanis an**, etc. **25. Cultu**, *in their manner of life*. **Sede ac domiciliis**, *in respect to abode and dwellings*, i. e. in the fact that they have homes and domiciles, whereas the Sarmatians were nomadic, living and moving about in wagons. **Agunt** = vivunt. **Sordes omnium**, *sc.* est, *filth is characteristic of them all;* **omnium** is predicate genitive. **26. Torpor**, *sc.* est, *laziness*. A Tacitean sense of the word. **Connubiis mixtis** (*sc.* cum Sarmatis) = *by intermarriages;* **mixti**, being equivalent to the *inter-*. **27. In habitum foedantur**, *they are becoming debased into the character*. **28. Ex moribus**, *sc.* Sarmatarum.

3–20. Domos figunt = *they have fixed habitations*. **5. Diversa**, *the contrary;* governing **Sarmatis** (= Sarmatarum moribus) in 43

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43 the dative. **7. Penates,** *i. e.* a home, fireside. **Cubile humus.** The change of construction deserves notice. **8. Ossibus asperant,** *they roughly point with bones.* **9. Idem venatus,** *i. e.* the women accompany the men in hunting. **11. Ferarum,** *from wild beasts.* **14. Arbitrantur.** The truth is they did not think at all: they no more missed the luxuries of Roman civilization than the convenience of the electric telegraph. **Ingemere agris,** *to groan over fields,* i. e. tilling them. **15. Domibus,** *i. e.* in building them. **Suas — versare,** *to disturb their own and others' fortunes with* (alternate) *hope and fear;* the hope of riches and the fear of losses in business. **16. Securi,** *careless.* **18. Cetera,** *the rest,* what remains to be said. **Jam,** *now,* in this part of our examination. **Oxionas,** Greek form of the accusative. **Ora — gerere.** The story doubtless arose from their wearing the skins of wild beasts. **20. In medium** = *undecided;* in the midst, *i. e. between* those who may assert and those who may deny.

NOTES

TO THE

A G R I C O L A.

INTRODUCTION.

The Life of Agricŏla is certainly the most attractive, and perhaps the most perfect specimen we possess of ancient biography. It was written, we are told, in a spirit of filial affection to commemorate the virtues of a good man and the successes of a great general. All that was most characteristic of a Roman of the highest type found a place in Agricola. An able officer, a just and at the same time a popular governor, a vigorous reformer of abuses, a conqueror of hitherto unknown regions, he was also a man of mental culture, and of singular gentleness and amiability. He had every quality which could attract the sympathy and admiration of his son-in-law.

Besides a description of the geography of Britain, and of the general character of its inhabitants, in accordance with the best information which Tacitus could procure, we have also a brief outline of the Roman operations in the country previous to Agricola's arrival. Agricola, who became proconsul of Britain A. D. 78, found by far the greater portion of the country already conquered, though much remained to be done to secure thoroughly the submission of the people.

The chief interest of this biography is evidently intended to centre in the grand event of the seventh year of Agricola's campaigns, the defeat of the confederate Caledonian tribes, by which the subjugation of Britain to its farthest limits was finally achieved. The description of the preparations for the battle, and of the battle itself, would occupy a space altogether out of proportion to the rest of the work, were it not meant by the author to claim the first place in the interest of his readers. Both the scene and the event appear to have deeply impressed the mind of Tacitus. The critical struggle, as it seemed to him, was fought out on the last confines of the world, and it added to the glory

of Rome the renown of a triumph which completed the conquest of her most inaccessible and intractable province. The speeches of the rival generals which introduce it, are elaborate specimens of Tacitean eloquence. That of the Caledonian chief is conceived in the true spirit of the barbarian, and is marked by a fierce impetuosity; that of Agricola is calm and dignified, and implies the consciousness of superior strength, which is the fruit of discipline and civilization.

Soon after his decisive success, which excited the jealousy and ill-will of Domitian, Agricola returned to Rome. Of the last eight years of his life, which were passed in retirement, Tacitus tells us but little. In a few burning words he dwells on the horrors of the closing period of Domitian's reign, and hints, though he forbears explicitly to assert, as Dion Cassius does, that Agricola was one of the emperor's numerous victims.—*Abridged from C.*

The composition of this work may be fixed, from internal and external evidence, to A. D. 97, four years after Agricola's death. The first three chapters comprise the preface, the substance of which is this: — In ancient times, when there was no reason, as now, to dread men's ignorance of virtue and their envy of her votaries, it was usual to hand down to posterity the exploits and characters of famous men; and a man was not found fault with even if he narrated his own life. But in times like these, when we have only lately seen that to praise illustrious men was a capital crime, I must plead for favor and indulgence, which I should not have done, had my intention been to rail at times inimical to virtue, in which even those remain unpunished through whose charges Agricola fell, and through whose means many have been calumniated. At length, however, spirit and liberty are returning, though the desire of writing springs up but gradually and slowly, since talents and zeal may be more quickly smothered and suppressed than roused again to vigor and activity; and sloth, at first the object of our hatred, ends with ingratiating itself into our favor. Hence I am led to hope, that I shall meet with excuse for having formed the design of writing this memoir. S.

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45 1–5. **Clarorum virorum.** A *clarus vir* is one who by merit has risen to distinction. **Facta moresque,** *the achievements and characters.* **2. Usitatum,** *customary,* not unusual, commonly practised; a neuter participle in the accusative, agreeing with the preceding clause. **Ne — temporibus,** *i. e.* vicious as they are, they can sometimes rise to a recognition of virtue. **3. Suorum,** *of its own, sc.* eminent men. **Aetas,** *the age.* **Quotiens** = quoties. **4. Super-**

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gressa est, *has risen above,* superior to, beyond the reach of envy. 45
5. **Ignorantiam — invidiam,** *ignorance and envy of rectitude;* not an intellectual but a moral ignorance, which refuses or neglects to recognize the claims of merit. **Recti** limits both nouns; *i. e.* envy must be envy of something.

1–5. **Priores,** *the men of former times,* under the republic. 2. 46
Pronum, *easy;* because it did not attract the envy of inferiors or the malice of power. **Magis — aperto,** lit. and more in an open course = *and more unobstructed.* "**Pronum** expresses the inclination of the will; **in aperto,** the favoring circumstances." 3. **Celeberrimus quisque,** *all the most renowned.* **Ingenio,** *for their talent;* ablat. of cause. 4. **Sine — ambitione,** *without favor or flattery,* without partiality or ingratiating flattery. **Tantum pretio,** *solely for the reward.* 5. **Pretio** is ablat. of cause.

5–12. **Plerique,** *a great many,* i. e. of those who wrote biography. **Ipsi,** nominative; *narrare suam vitam ipsi.* 6. **Fiduciam morum,** *as a confidence in their characters.* These words are in apposition with **suam vitam narrare.** 7. **Citra fidem,** lit. on this side of belief = *without trustworthiness.* This sense of **citra** belongs to the silver age. 8. **Obtrectationi,** *a disparagement;* dative of the end. **Adeo,** *to such a degree,* so true is it that. **Isdem** = iisdem. 10. **Nunc,** *now,* in these times, less auspicious than former times. **Mihi opus fuit** = *I had need.* 11. **Venia,** *of indulgence;* ablative. **Incusaturus** = *had I intended to find fault with* = si incusaturus essem, and thus forming the protasis to **quam — petissem.** The connection of thought in this sentence seems to be as follows: The practice of writing the biography of eminent men has grown into such disuse, that an apology for this eulogy of Agricola was necessary; but had my intention been to inveigh against the times, no such apology would have been needed. For **incusaturus** some editors read *incursaturus.*

13–18. **Legimus — fuisse.** Both occurrences took place in Domitian's reign. Rusticus was put to death for studying philosophy, and calling Thrasea "holy;" and Senecio for writing the life of Priscus Helvidius. S. In **legimus** there may be a reference to the *Acta Diurna* ("Proceedings of the Day"), a kind of official gazette, published at Rome, and containing an account of the public business, and other matters of general interest. **Aruleno Rustico,** dative of the agent after **laudati essent,** which is subjunctive after **cum,** causal. 15. **Capitale,** *a capital crime;* the

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46 adj. as a noun. **16. Saevitum** (esse), *that rage was vented;* the verb is here used impersonally. **Triumviris.** The *triumviri capitales* were *superintendents of prisons,* and combined some of the duties of our police magistrates and sheriffs. **17. Clarissimorum ingeniorum** = *of the most distinguished men of genius.* **18. In comitio ac foro,** *in the comitium and forum.* The forum in its widest sense included the comitium, or place of assembly for the curiae, and the forum in its narrower sense, or place of assembly for the comitia tributa. The *Comitium* was the place of public execution. *Dict. Antiqq.*

18–28. Scilicet, *doubtless,* of course. Strongly ironical. **19. Conscientiam,** *the conscience,* approving the good and condemning the bad; which being destroyed, tyranny would be secure even while torturing virtue. **21. Sapientiae professoribus,** *public teachers of philosophy,* or, the philosophers, who were expelled by Domitian A. D. 95. The word **professor** is post-classical. **22. Ne quid honestum** = *that nothing regarded with honor.* **Occurreret** = inveniretur. **23. Profecto,** *assuredly,* certainly. **24. Vetus aetas,** "*the olden time,*" of the republic. **Ultimum,** *extreme;* i. e. as much liberty as could exist without becoming suicidal. **25. Quid in servitute,** *sc.* ultimum esset. **Adempto — commercio.** These words portray, though in dim outline, a state of society of which an American citizen can form an adequate idea only by the help of the imagination. **Per inquisitiones** = *by the espionage of informers;* which made men afraid either to speak their own thoughts or to listen to the thoughts of others. **26. Commercio,** *the interchange,* intercourse. **27. Voce,** *i. e.* free speech. **Tam — quam,** *as much — as.*

47 **1–9. Animus,** *courage.* **Primo statim ortu,** *at once at the very beginning;* **statim** giving emphasis to **primo ortu.** **2. Saeculi,** *age,* period. **Nerva Caesar.** All the Roman emperors down to the time of Hadrian bore the name Caesar, with the title Augustus. **3. Dissociabiles,** *irreconcilable,* incompatible. **Miscuerit.** In Tacitus the subjunctive is more frequent after **quamquam** than the indicative. **Principatum,** *sovereign power,* lodged in the hands of a *princeps* at the head of the state. **4. Augeat quotidie.** This passage seems to fix the date of the composition of the Agricola; Trajan was adopted by Nerva A. D. 97, and the latter died A. D. 98; and as Tacitus, in speaking of Nerva, does not apply to him the title *divus* (given to deceased emperors), it is conjectured that the work was composed while Nerva was still alive. **Nerva**

Trajanus, so called from his adoption by Nerva; *i. e.* he added the name of Nerva to his own. Trajan was associated with Nerva in the empire in A. D. 97. **5. Nec modo** = et non modo. **Votum** = *wishes* for better and happier times. **Securitas publica** is here personified. Her name and figure are found on coins of the Antonine period. **6. Fiduciam ac robur,** *confidence and strength* (*in*). D. and others find a hendiadys in these words (*robustam fiduciam*), "*firmly grounded confidence.*" **8. Mala,** *the evils* themselves. **9. Ingenia studiaque,** *genius and its pursuits.* **Oppresseris,** *you may crush.* The second person singular of the subjunctive tenses represents an **indefinite** subject, you being used in a lively way for **one** (**can,** etc.). This is especially the case in mild, modest, or cautious statement. 47

10–18. Subit, *steals upon us;* a poetical use of the word. **12. Quindecim annos,** the length of Domitian's reign, from A. D. 81 to 96. **13. Promptissimus quisque,** *all the most active men.* **14. Pauci,** *a few of us.* **Ut ita dixerim** = *so to speak.* **Dixerim** instead of **dicam** occurs only in later or post-classical writers. Z. 528. **15. Aliorum,** *of others,* in a physical sense; but **nostri** (from *ego*), *of ourselves,* morally and intellectually; we are not what we were.

Alas! for this gray shadow, once a man. — *Tithonus.*

For the case see C. 162, 3; H. 391, II, 4; A. 218, *d;* G. 356, Rem. 1. **Superstites,** *survivors.* **16. Quibus,** *during which.* **Juvenes** (with *nos,* in the verb), *those of us who were young men.* **Juventus** extended to the age of 45. **18. Per silentium.** The silence of intellectual inactivity.

18–22. Non pigebit, *it will not prove irksome* = it will afford me pleasure. **19. Vel — voce,** *even in inartistic and unpolished language.* The expression has a vein of poetry in it. **Memoriam — composuisse.** Tacitus here refers to his Annals and Histories. **20. Bonorum,** *blessings,* advantages. **21. Interim,** *i. e.* the Agricola is first to be published, and the Histories will soon follow. **22. Professione pietatis,** *from its profession of filial regard.* **Aut — aut,** denoting absolute exclusion or substitution. C. 257, 4; H. 554, II, 2; A. 156, *c*; G. 495; Z. 339.

24–28. Cnaeus Julius Agricola, the name in full, consisting of three parts; of which **Cnaeus** (also Cneus, Gnaeus, Gneus, abbreviated Cn.) is the praenōmen or name belonging only to the individual; **Julius,** the name of the gens, house, or clan, often embracing many families, and founded originally on blood-relation-

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47 ship; and **Agricola**, the name of one of such families; the praenōmen, nomen, and cognōmen. **Forojuliensium**, lit. *of the Forojulians* = of Forum Julii, a town in Gaul (now Frejus), founded by C. Julius Caesar, 44 B. C., and as it had an excellent harbor it became a chief naval station during the empire. **25. Colonia**, ablat. of source. **Procuratorem.** These *procuratores* exacted the emperors had possessions. They corresponded to the *quaestores* in the senatorial provinces. S. **26. Equestris nobilitas.** By this statement Tacitus desires to inform us that his grandfathers belonged to the equestrian order, and were not freedmen; as freedmen were appointed procurators by some of the emperors. **27. Senatorii ordinis.** *Ordo* is applied to any body of men, who form a distinct class in the community, either by possessing distinct privileges, pursuing certain trades or professions, or in any other way. It was never applied to the *plebes. Dict. Antiqq.* **28. Sapientiae** = philosophiae. **Notus**, *sc.* erat. **Caii Caesaris.** Caligula is meant. **Meritus**, *sc.* est, *he earned.*

48 **1–13. M. Silanum**, a consular, and father-in-law of Caligula. **Jussus**, *sc.* est. **3. In — sinu**, *i. e.* under her own personal care and supervision. **4. Omnem — cultum**, *all the culture of liberal studies.* **5. Arcebat eum, etc.** The subject of the verb is the clause **quod — habuit;** *it kept him from the allurements of the vicious, etc.* **6. Peccantium** is a substantive here. See Lex. **7. Quod — parvulus** = *that even when a child;* or, from his earliest boyhood. **8. Massiliam** (now Marseilles), a Greek colony, which early became a seat of learning. **Locum — mixtum** instead of *locum in quo — mixtae sunt.* D. A literal translation is harsh and inexact. Render thus: *a place with a mixture and a happy combination of Grecian politeness and provincial thrift.* **11. Prima in**, *in his earliest.* **Acrius**, *too eagerly.* **12. Quam**, a conjunction following **ultra** which has the force of a comparative. **Concessum** (*sc.* erat) — **senatori**, because statesmanship and politics, not philosophy, were more becoming to a Roman. **Hausisse**, *had drunk in,* had imbibed; for *hausturum fuisse,* because the writer wishes to represent the result with greater vividness and certainty.

14–18. Scilicet, *naturally,* you may well suppose. **Erectum**, *lofty,* pursuing noble themes. **15. Speciem**, *the ideal.* In this sense "schon bei Cicero." D. **16. Quam caute.** Strictly classical usage (which Tacitus generally follows) would require **cautius. Mitigavit**, *sc.* eum. **17. Ratio et aetas**, (maturer) *reason*

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and age. **Quod est difficillimum,** *i. e.* self-government, because 48
it requires the consistent exercise of all the virtues. **Ex — modum,** *moderation from* (the study of) *philosophy.*

19–28. Prima — rudimenta, *the first rudimentary duties of military service;* as we would say, his first campaigns. **20. Approbavit,** *he performed in a manner satisfactory.* The sense is, he served his military novitiate in a manner satisfactory to Suetonius Paulinus. **21. Electus — aestimaret;** *having been selected* (by Paulinus) *that he might form an estimate of him by means of tent-companionship* (or, by attendance on him as an aide-de-camp). Notice **quem** = *ut eum,* and hence **aestimaret,** subjunctive of purpose. **Nec — neque,** *neither — nor.* **22. Licenter,** *wantonly.* **More juvenum,** *i. e.* the young Romans who attended the commanding general and had a *contubernium* with him, for the purpose of learning the art of war. **23. Commeatus,** *furloughs.* **24. Titulum,** *the title.* These young men were military tribunes only in name. **Rettulit** (retulit), translate, *used,* or *availed himself of;* lit. *referred* to an end. **Noscere,** *to know;* the historical infinitive, which may here be translated as an infinitive without prejudice to the sense. **25. Exercitui,** *to the army,* as a man of ability. **26. In jactationem,** *for display;* as material for boasting. **28. Non — alias,** *assuredly at no other time.* **Exercitatior,** *more agitated;* for the reasons which immediately follow. **In ambiguo,** in regard to the possession of it.

1–9. Trucidati (erant) **veterani,** in the colony of Camulodunum, 49
the only Roman colony in Britain. **2. Intercepti** (erant), *had been cut off,* i. e. and destroyed. "Codicum scriptura *intersepti* non ferenda est." W. **3. Certavere,** *sc.* Britanni. **Alterius,** *i. e.* of Suetonius Paulinus. **4. Summa rerum,** *the chief direction of affairs.* **5. In ducem cessit,** *fell to the share of the general.* **Artem,** *skill.* **6. Juveni,** Agricola. **7. Temporibus,** dative limiting **ingrata**; a delicate way of saying, "the emperors of the times." **Sinistra,** *an unfavorable.*

10–21. Ad — magistratus = *with a view to entering upon the public offices;* commencing with the quaestorship and ending with the consulship. **11. Natalibus,** *lineage.* This sense belongs to the silver age. **13. Nitenti,** *sc.* ei, to him *striving.* **Decus,** *a distinction.* **14. In — anteponendo,** *by mutually preferring one another.* Cf. "in honor preferring one another." *Rom.* 12 : 10. **15. Nisi quod,** *except that,* is intended to modify what is really only implied in the preceding words: they lived in wonderful

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49 harmony (*and that was praiseworthy in them both*), except that, etc. **Tanto — quanto** = *as much — as;* ablatives of degree of difference. **16. Sors quaesturae.** The quaestors drew lots for their provinces. **17. Proconsulem.** A proconsul was generally a consular or ex-consul. **Dedit,** *sc.* Agricolae. **18. Neutro,** *by neither;* dative of the agent. **19. Peccantibus,** *for offenders;* the participle as a noun. **20. Quantalibet facilitate,** *with any facility however great,* i. e. by allowing Agricola every facility to plunder. **Redempturus esset,** *was ready to purchase;* the subjunctive represents the intention as it existed in the mind of Salvius Titianus. **21. Mutuam,** *i. e.* for himself, and on the part of Agricola. **Mali,** *of wrong,* of peculation and plunder.

21–28. Auctus est filia. Cicero uses a similar expression. This **filia** was afterwards the wife of Tacitus. **22. In subsidium,** *as a support* for the loss of his son. **Ante sublatum** = *previously born;* lit. previously taken up, in allusion to the Roman custom by which new-born infants were placed on the ground, and if the father chose to acknowledge and rear them, he lifted them up. **23. Inter,** *between.* **26. Fuit** = *stood.* **27. Nec — obvenerat,** *for no jurisdiction* (administering of justice) *had fallen to his lot.* The functions of the praetors were properly judicial. After the first Punic war there were two: the *praetor urbanus,* for Roman citizens, and the *praetor peregrinus,* for foreigners. Their number was subsequently increased and varied at different times. Agricola, it seems, was one of those whose chief duty was the superintendence of the public games. **28. Inania honoris** = *empty honors;* or perhaps, *the pageantry of his office.* **Medio — abundantiae** = *midway between reasonableness and superfluity, i. e.* yielding a little to the extravagance of such occasions, and abstaining from the pomp and sumptuousness aimed at by some for the purpose of ingratiating themselves with the people. **Medio** is ablative of manner = *according to the mean.*

50 **1–5. Uti longe — ita propior,** *although far from extravagant profusion, yet nearer to his reputation* or character. On this passage Wex remarks: *Mireris interpretes a vera horum verborum sententia prorsus aberrasse. — Dicit igitur Tacitus: quo magis a luxuria remotus erat, eo propior erat famae suae. Nihil aliud enim ab Agricola exspectatum erat. — Fecisse igitur videbatur Agricola, quod Graeci dicunt ὁμοῖα ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖν.* **Duxit,** *he conducted.* **2. Ad — recognoscenda,** with a view to their appropriate restoration. **3. Ne cujus, etc.,** *that the state had felt the sacrilege of no*

one else than Nero; the state *had experienced* a general spoiling of its temples in the conflagration, and by the immediate robberies of Nero; but when Agricola had completed his search and collection, the state found that it *had felt* only the sacrilege of Nero, everything having been recovered except what he had appropriated. Hence the unusual use and force of the pluperfect. 50

6–24. **Sequens annus,** A. D. 69. 7. **Othoniana,** *of Otho,* at this time emperor. **Licenter,** *wantonly,* i. e. for plunder. 9. **Suis,** *her own.* 11. **Sollemnia pietatis,** *the solemn duties of filial affection.* 12. **Affectati,** *aspired to,* aimed at. 13. **Deprehensus** (est), *he was overtaken.* **Partes** (ejus), *his party,* side. 15. **Mucianus,** Vespasian's lieutenant. **Regebat,** during the absence of Vespasian, who was in Judea when he was proclaimed emperor. **Domitiano,** son of Vespasian. 16. **Paterna fortuna,** in becoming emperor. **Is,** Mucianus. 17. **Ad — agendos,** *to conduct the levies* or conscription of soldiers. 18. **Vicesimae legioni,** one of the legions stationed in Britain. **Sacramentum,** *the military oath* of allegiance. 20. **Legatis consularibus,** *to the consular lieutenants.* Under the empire, the provinces were governed by men who had been either consuls or praetors, and the former were always accompanied by three legati, the latter by one. These vicegerents of the emperor were called *legati consulares, legati praetorii, etc.* In the present instance these legati were the chief officers of the province, where each legion had its own legatus praetorius. 21. **Nimia,** *too much* for, too strong. 22. **Incertum** (est utrum) **suo** (ingenio). **Suo — ingenio,** *from his own temper or that of the soldiers;* "Either because he did not know how to command, or they to obey." S. 24. **Maluit — fecisse** contains a suggestion useful to all those who are appointed to govern.

25–28. **Tunc,** A. D. 69. 27. **Vim suam,** *his own spirit* or energy. **Ne incresceret,** *that he might not grow too great,* i. e. become too conspicuous and eclipse his superiors. 28. **Peritus obsequi.** This construction is rare in good prose, but somewhat common in poetry. C. 244, 3; H. 533, II, 3; A. 273, *d;* H. 552, 3; G. 429, Rem. 4; Z. 598. **Honestis,** *with the honorable;* ablat. of means.

1–10. **Brevi deinde.** In A. D. 71. **Consularem,** *the consular,* 51
now legatus. 2. **Spatium exemplorum** = *a field for* (displaying themselves as) *examples.* 3. **Modo,** *only.* 4. **Communicabat,** *sc.* cum Agricola. 5. **Ex eventu,** *in consequence of the result,* i. e. his success. 6. **In,** *with a view to.* 7. **Gestis,** ablat. of cause. **Auctorem** cannot be translated here by any single word; *his superior*

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51 *officer* gives the sense very nearly. **Ut minister,** *as a subordinate officer.* 8. **Fortunam,** *his good fortune,* his success. **Virtute in obsequendo,** *by his manliness in showing deference.* 9. **Nec extra,** *but not beyond the reach of.*

11–19. **Legatione,** *the lieutenancy.* **Divus,** *i. e.* he was *divus* at the time when Tacitus wrote this. 13. **Praeposuit.** In A. D. 74. **Splendidae dignitatis,** a genitive of description or quality. **Inprimis** = imprimis, *i. e.* in primis, *especially,* particularly. 14. **Administratione,** *in its administration,* from the importance of the command. **Spe consulatus,** *i. e.* the government of Aquitania served as a stepping-stone. **Destinarat,** *sc.* Vespasianus. 15. **Ingeniis,** *geniuses;* or, minds. **Subtilitatem,** *acuteness,* the faculty of drawing nice distinctions. 16. **Secura,** *careless,* in regard to the subtleties and refinements of law. **Obtusior,** *rather blunt.* 17. **Plura — agens,** *dealing more with force,* and not with persuasion and legal subtleties. **Exerceat,** subjunctive (in oratio obliqua) to reflect the sentiments of **plerique.** 18. **Quamvis — togatos** (*civilians*), *i. e.* not now in the camp, but acting as a judge amid civilians. "Suits could be carried on only in the toga and in Latin." S.

20–28. **Conventus,** *the judicial assemblies* = the circuit courts. 21. **Poscerent,** potential subjunctive; the idea is, whenever they might demand it, as often as they might demand it. 22. **Satis factum** (esset), *enough had been done.* **Ultra** = *farther,* more. 23. **Persona,** *the character,* the official mien; "He no longer played the magistrate." S. "Dann war die Amtsmiene abgelegt." D. **Tristitiam,** *sternness,* of the magistrate. **Arrogantiam,** *his lordly bearing,* demanding a rigid exaction of respect to dignity. **Avaritiam,** *i. e.* what might seem to be avarice in one who exacted, to the last farthing, payment of tribute or revenues. 24. **Illi** = *his.* **Facilitas,** *affability.* 25. **Amorem,** *i. e.* of others for him. 26. **Referre,** *to mention,* to call to mind. **Injuria — fuerit,** *may prove a wrong to his virtues.* **Fuerit** is subjunctive of modest or cautious statement. 27. **Cui saepe — indulgent,** *upon which even good men often look with complacence.* 28. **Per artem** = *artfully,* by artifices.

52 1–11. **Collegas,** *i. e.* officers of the same grade with himself, governors of neighboring provinces in Gaul and Spain. 2. **Procuratores.** The **procuratores** looked after the taxes, paid the troops, and generally were intrusted with the interests of the Fiscus. *Dict. Antiqq.* **Vincere,** *to win a victory* in disputes with

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his subordinates. **3. Atteri,** *to be trampled upon,* i. e. to suffer 52
injury to his dignity. **Triennium,** *than three years.* Why not ablative after **minus**? Look for **minus** in the index of your grammar and thus find the rule. **5. Opinione,** *i. e.* public opinion. **6. Dari,** *was being given;* instead of *datum iri,* in order to represent more vividly the certainty that it would be given. **Nullis — sermonibus** = *without any remarks of his own to that end:* **sermonibus,** ablative absolute, and **hoc,** accusative. **8. Et elegit,** *it has (sometimes) even chosen,* i. e. caused a man to be chosen. **Consul.** In A. D. 77. **Tum,** *even then,* at that age. **Spei,** genitive of quality, limiting **filiam. 9. Juveni.** Tacitus was about twenty-four years old at the time. **Collocavit,** *he gave her in marriage.* **10. Pontificatus.** The Roman pontiffs formed the most illustrious among the great colleges of priests. The college of pontiffs had the supreme superintendence of all matters of religion. The pontifex maximus was the president of the college, and was generally chosen from among the most distinguished persons. Dict. Antiqq.

12–28. Scriptoribus, dative of the agent. **13. In,** *for,* with a view to. **Curae ingeniive,** *of my diligence or talent,* with that of others. **14. Perdomita est.** Notice the intensive force of *per,* thoroughly. **15. Priores,** *former writers.* **Percoluere,** *have embellished.* **16. Rerum fide,** *on the evidence of facts.* **17. Spatio ac caelo,** *in extent and in climate;* **Germaniae obtenditur** = *it lies opposite to Germany;* i. e. it faces Germany on the east, and its climate is the same. "The old geographers gave the northern coast of Spain a north-westerly direction; and, unacquainted with the extent to which Bretagne reached westward, made the coasts of Gaul and Germany run in an almost uniform north-easterly direction." Tacitus seems to have placed Britain in the angle thus formed. **19. Gallis,** dative of the agent. **Inspicitur,** *it is seen.* **22. Fabius Rusticus,** a contemporary of Claudius and Nero, who wrote the history of his times. **23. Scutulae,** (kind of) *dish;* the word also means a mathematical figure, whose sides were not equal, nor were its angles right angles; probably, then, a trapezium **24. Citra,** *on this side of,* i. e. excluding. **In universum,** *to the whole* island. **Fama** is nominative. **26. Procurrentium — terrarum,** *of land jutting out from what is almost the end of the coast, i. e.* from what would be the northern terminus of the coast, were it not for this jutting strip of land. **Jam** does not refer to time, but rather to that part of our progress northward, where the coast

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52 (now, *jam*) comes to an end. **27. Hanc oram,** the wedge-like projection, on the north. **28. Novissimi,** *of the farthest.* **Tunc primum,** *i. e.* in the time of Agricola.

53 **1–14. Circumvecta** = *by sailing round.* The passive of *veho* and its compounds is often used in a deponent sense, *to ride, to sail, etc.* **2. Orcadas,** *the Orkneys.* Greek form of the accusative. **3. Dispecta est,** *was descried;* or, was seen at a distance. **Thule.** Iceland has the best claim to be identified with Thule. **Hactenus jussum** (erat), *i. e.* the orders were limited to circumnavigation. **4. Mare pigrum.** Cf. *Germania,* 45. **6. Perinde,** *in the same manner* as other seas. **Credo,** *I suppose,* is thrown in parenthetically. **9. Hujus — est,** *belongs to this work;* **operis** is predicate genitive. **Rettulere,** *have related* it. **10. Unum addiderim,** *one thing I may add;* the verb is subjunctive of modest statement, to soften the assertion. **Dominari mare,** *does the sea exercise its dominion.* **11. Multum fluminum** = *many currents.* **Litore tenus,** (only) *as far as the shore.* **12. Accrescere** refers to the flow, and **resorberi** (*is drawn back*), to the ebb. **Penitus,** *far inland.* **13. Atque ambire,** *and winds about,* following the course of the depressions of the land. **Jugis,** *upon the heights.* **Inseri** = *is forced,* is urged. **14. In suo** (*sc. campo* or *regno*), *in its own dominions.* "Es schaltet und waltet wie in seinem Reiche." W. "In seinem eigenen Gebiet." D.

16–28. Indigenae an, *i. e.* utrum indigenae an. **Advecti** = *strangers.* **Ut** = *as might be expected;* but supply **fieri solet,** which Tacitus usually omits. **17. Habitus,** *the characteristics.* **Ex eo,** *from that fact.* **18. Argumenta** (sunt), *there are arguments* for their definite origin. **20. Silurum.** The Silūres inhabited Wales. **Colorati,** *the dark,* sun-browned. **Torti,** *curly.* **21. Contra,** *opposite* to them; since Tacitus supposed Spain to run a considerable distance in a north-west direction. **22. Fidem faciunt,** *create the belief.* **Et,** *also.* **Similes,** *sc.* iis vel Gallis. **23. Originis,** *i. e.* of their supposed Gallic origin. **Vi,** *the influence,* the native force. **Seu — dedit,** *or their countries projecting in different directions* (so as to be nearly parallel to each other), *the location of their climate has given* (*this*) *character to their bodies.* **Positio,** *i. e.* with reference to latitude and longitude. **25. In — aestimanti.** Compare *Germania,* 6. **26. Eorum,** *i. e.* Gallorum. **Sacra,** *sacred rites.* **27. Superstitionum persuasiones,** *their belief in superstitions,* their superstitious beliefs. Tacitus means that the same rites and beliefs prevailed in Britain as in Gaul. **Sermo,** *their language.* **28. In — periculis.** Cf. Caes. B. G. III., 19.

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2–7. Ferociae, *of dauntless spirit.* **Praeferunt,** *display.* **Ut** 54
quos = cum eos; introducing a relative clause expressing a reason, the relative being at the same time strengthened by **ut**; hence **emollierit,** subjunctive of cause. **C.** 224, Note 1; H. 517, 3, **1**); A. 320, *e*; G. 636. **4. Otio,** *peace.* **5. Pariter ac,** *equally with.* **6. Olim,** *formerly,* implying that they have remained in subjection a long time. **Quales — fuerunt,** *such as the Gauls were,* i. e. full of martial spirit.

9–16. Honestior auriga (est), *the charioteer is the more honorable,* i. e. greater honor attaches to his position than to that of the combatants. **Clientes propugnant,** *the vassals fight for him;* i. e. while the chief drives, his vassals fight from the chariot. In the Trojan war, the rank of the charioteer, among both Greeks and Trojans, was inferior to that of the chief, who did the fighting. **11. Et studiis,** *and by party spirit.* **Aliud,** sc. est. **12. In commune,** *for the common welfare,* advantage. **13. Civitatibus,** dative of the possessor: *two or three states rarely have, etc.* **16. Foedum** (est), *is murky.*

17–28. Spatia, *the lengths,* sc. sunt. **Nostri orbis** (for dierum nostri orbis), *of our quarter of the world.* Pliny says that in Italy the longest day lasts fifteen hours; in Britain, seventeen. S. **Nox — brevis,** *i. e.* of course, in summer; in winter the nights are correspondingly long. **18. Ut,** *so that.* **19. Discrimine,** *interval.* **Quod si,** *and if.* **20. Solis fulgorem,** *the brightness of the sun,* not the sun himself. **21. Sed transire,** *but passes across* the horizon. The lowest latitude at which the sun himself could thus graze the horizon is sixty-six degrees. The north of Scotland is a little below the parallel of fifty-nine. **22. Scilicet — cadit,** *naturally, the flat extremities of the earth, with their low shadow, do not cast the darkness upward* (do not permit darkness to rise high), *and night falls beneath the sky and the stars.* On this passage it may be remarked, that Tacitus here supposes the surface of the earth to be arched, like a round shield; with greater flatness towards the rim of the shield, hence **extrema et plana terrarum** (*the extreme and flat parts of the earth*); that these flat parts cast but a low shadow, and that night is caused by the shadow of the earth being projected into the heavens; and hence that the region of night, in this part of the world, falls near the surface of the earth, below the higher skies and stars, which are illumined by the sun. **Umbra** is ablative of description. **25. Patiens** (est), *is capable of bearing.* **26. Mitescunt,** sc. fruges. **27. Caelique,** *and*

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54 *of the atmosphere.* **28. Pretium victoriae,** *the price of victory.* Hence we see that Britain paid tribute in money, not tithe in produce.

55 **1–6. Margarita.** The form *margaritum* is rarer than *margarita.* **2. Artem,** *skill.* **Legentibus,** *sc.* iis, *to those that gather them.* **3. Rubro mari,** in general, *the Indian ocean;* but *the Persian gulf* is here specially meant. Nam *θάλασσα ἐρυθρά* complectitur sinum et Abrabicum et Persicum. W. **Saxis,** ablative of separation, governed by **a** in composition with **avelli. 4. Avelli,** *sc.* ea, *i. e.* margarita. **Expulsa sint,** *they have been thrown up* on the shore; subjunctive in *oratio obliqua,* to represent the sentiment of **quidam. Ego.** Notice the use of the pronoun; because the writer contrasts his view with that of others. **5. Crediderim,** *should suppose;* subjunctive of cautious, hypothetical statement, to soften the assertion. **Naturam,** *i. e.* natural excellence. **6. Nobis avaritiam,** *i. e.* that avarice which would impel us to seek the pearls if they were worth the search.

7–16. Ipsi Britanni. What is the force of **ipsi?** From a description of the country and its products, the author now passes to the *Britons themselves.* **Delectum,** *recruiting;* the furnishing of troops. **Injuncta — munera,** *the imposed services of the state;* the duties imposed by the home government on its subjects, including, especially, extraordinary contributions. **8. Obeunt,** *perform.* **Has,** *i. e.* injurias. **9. Aegre,** *impatiently.* **Ut,** *so that,* in so far that. **10. Igitur,** *then;* with a resumptive, not an illative force; resumptive of the history of the conquest. **11. Julius — ingressus.** Julius Caesar invaded Britain in B. C. 55 and 54. On the epithet **divus,** see note, page 19, line 25. **12. Terruerit.** As previously remarked, Tacitus regularly uses the subjunctive after **quamquam;** and, generally, in later Latin, **quamvis** and quamquam change parts. **13. Potest videri,** *can (only) appear.* **14. Bella civilia,** *sc.* fuerunt; the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey, and Augustus and Antony. **15. Consilium,** *policy,* political prudence. **16. Praeceptum,** *an injunction,* laid upon him by his predecessor; "nämlich im Testamente des Augustus, gegen den Tiberius eine grosse Pietät zeigte." D.

17–23. Agitasse — Caesarem, *that Caius Caesar had formed the design.* The words **ingentes — fuissent** show that, by Caius Caesar, Caligula is meant. **18. Ni — fuisset.** To this protasis, we must mentally supply, as an apodosis, *et intrasset.* **Ni velox,** *sc.* fuisset, *had he not been hasty in the turn of his mind.* **Ingenio** is

ablative of specification. **Mobilis poenitentiae,** *easily moved to repentance* = fickle in changing his mind. The passage is read differently by different editors. Wex, from one MS., reads, *velox ingenio mobili poenitentia* (swift to repent from the fickle temper of his mind), in which **ingenio mobili** stands as the cause of **velox poenitentia. Mobilis** may be either nominative, agreeing with *Caesar,* or genitive agreeing with **poenitentiae. 19. Adversus — conatus,** in 39 B. C. Cf. Germ. 37: Mox ingentes C. Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae. **20. Claudius auctor,** namely, through his generals Plautius and Vespasian. **Auctor operis.** The MSS. generally read *auctoritate operis,* which is devoid of sense. **Tandem** is the conjecture of Halm. Kritz and Wex read *iterati operis.* **Operis,** *of the work* of subduing Britain. **21. In — rerum,** *to a share in the undertakings.* **22. Domitae** (sunt). **23. Monstratus** (est) **fatis,** *was pointed out by the fates* as a man of mark and a future emperor. **Fatis** is probably the instrumental ablative (not dative of the agent), as *fata,* to the mind of Tacitus, was likely nothing more than the current of events, or the force of circumstances. 55

24–28. Consularium primus, *i. e.* first in the list of consulars who commanded in Britain. **25. Ostorius.** Oyster-hill, near Hereford, the site of a Roman camp, received its name from him. S. **26. Proxima,** *i. e.* the part nearest to the Romans, in general, the southern part. **27. Veteranorum colonia,** the *colony of veterans* was planted at Camulodunum, now Colchester; the first Roman colony in Britain, about 50 A. D. **28. Cogidumno** (Cogidunno, Cogiduno), of whom nothing else is known. **Donatae** (sunt), to reward his fidelity and attach him to Roman interests.

1–11. Vetere — recepta, *according to the old and long received* (or usual). This sense of **receptus** is post-classical. **3. Ut — reges** is a definition of **consuetudine. Et reges,** *even kings.* **4. Didius Gallus** commanded from A. D. 51 to 57. **Parta** = *the acquisitions;* the participle used substantively. **Prioribus,** *his predecessors.* **5. Ulteriora,** *the remoter parts.* **Per quae** = ut per ea, and hence the following subjunctive of purpose, **quaereretur. 6. Fama — quaereretur,** *the reputation of enlarged duty might be acquired,* namely, by enlarging the limits of his government. **Veranius** had command from A. D. 57 to 58. **7. Suetonius Paulinus** governed from A. D. 58 to 61. **8. Biennio.** An instance of the use of the ablative to denote *duration* of time. **Res,** *success.* **9. Quorum fiducia,** *through his confidence in which* garrisons strongly posted. **10.** 56

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56 **Monam,** in Tacitus, is the isle of Anglesea; in Caesar, it is the isle of Man. The confusion doubtless arose from the imperfect acquaintance of the Romans with British geography. **Ut,** *as*, on the ground of. **Vires,** *forces,* most likely. **11. Terga — patefecit,** *exposed his rear to a favorable moment* for the enemy. How the enemy seized upon the opportunity is explained in the next chapter.

12–19. Absentia, ablative of cause — the cause of **remoto metu. 13. Agitare,** *discussed;* the historical infinitive. **Conferre,** *compared, i. e.* heard individual rehearsals of them. **14. Interpretando,** *by explaining their meaning,* showing the evident purpose of them. **Accendere** = *aggravated them.* **Nihil profici** (*that nothing was gained*), commences a series of reflections and declarations reported in **oratio obliqua,** and continuing to the end of the chapter. **15. Tamquam,** *so to speak,* modifies **ex facili,** *easily.* The latter expression is Tacitean, and is formed, like *ex insperato, ex aperto,* etc., by imitation of a Greek idiom. **16. Singulos.** Notice the force of the distributive; one king for each nation. **Binos,** *i. e.* the legatus and the procurator. **18. Saeviret,** *cruelly preyed;* subjunctive in oratio obliqua. **Aeque — aeque,** *equally.* The object of the repetition is to show the absolute equivalency, so far as they were concerned, of the dissension or unanimity of their rulers. Cf. Hor. Ep. I., 1, 25; but the repetition is very rare. **Praepositorum,** *of their governors;* a substantive. **19. Subjectis,** *sc.* iis, *to them in their subject condition.*

19–28. Alterius — centuriones, *the band* (or attendants) *of the one, the centurions;* referring to the legatus and his officers. Perhaps the literal rendering, *the hand of the one, the centurions,* is just what Tacitus meant; for, "kings have long hands." This passage is very corrupt, and scarcely any two editions have the same reading of it. **20. Alterius — miscere,** *the slaves of the other* (the procurator) *mingle violence and insults.* **21. Cupiditati,** dative of advantage. **Exceptum** (esse), *was excepted from.* **22. Fortiorem esse,** *it is the braver.* A general proposition, in which the emphasis is on **in proelio**: *i. e.* if we come to battle, we, as the braver, shall spoil our enemies. Hence too the emphasis of **nunc,** by contrast: *now,* i. e. in our subjection. **24. Tamquam — nescientibus,** *as if ignorant only how to die for their country;* or, as if the only thing they did not know, was to die for their country. **Nescientibus** agrees with *iis* understood, which is dative governed by **injungi. 25. Quantulum,** *how small a number.* **Transisse,**

had crossed over. **Si — numerent,** *i. e.* if we compare our numbers 56
with those of the enemy. **26. Germanias,** *the Germanies,* i. e. the various divisions of Germany, the nations of Germany. "Elsewhere Tacitus uses **Germania,** and as the circumstances to which he here alludes occurred only in Germania Transrhenana, which is evidently here intended, from the use of the word **flumine,** it is probable that the singular form would be more correct." S. **Excussisse jugum.** The reference here is to successes of Arminius, and the defeat of Varus in A. D. 9. **27. Defendi,** *sc.* eas = Germanias. **28. Illis,** i. e. Romanis. **Causas,** *the motives.*

1–9. Recessuros, *sc.* eos esse. We need scarcely suppose that 57
the epithet **divus** formed part of the original deliberations; the respect belongs to Tacitus, not to his barbarian enemies. **2. Neve.** The *ne,* of which **neve** is continuative, is implied in the general force of the preceding exhortations, that they should *not* be discouraged. **3. Alterius,** *of a second.* **4. Impetus,** *impetuosity;* partitive genitive. **5. Qui detinerent,** *since they were detaining.* It is only the connection of the thought here that decides this to be a relative clause expressing the *reason* of what goes before; the subjunctive (in *oratio obliqua*) is indecisive. **7. Fuerit,** *had been;* in *oratio recta* it was **fuit,** *has* (all along) *been,* down to the present moment. **8. Ejus modi** = *such;* it is a genitive of quality or description.

10–28. The events narrated in this chapter occurred A. D. 61. **In vicem instincti,** *mutually fired.* **Boudicea.** The name is variously spelled, Boudicca, Boodicea, Boadicea. **11. Generis,** *lineage;* genitive of description or quality. **Duce** = *under the command of.* **Imperiis,** *positions of authority;* properly, military offices; but both civil and military functions are here referred to. **14. Coloniam,** Camulodunum. **15. In barbaris,** *i. e.* usual among barbarians. **Ira et victoria,** the subject of **omisit.** The Latin uses greater freedom than English in the concord of verb and subject. **16. Quod nisi,** *and* (*had*) *not.* **17. Amissa foret** = amissa esset. See Z. § 156, Note, *in fin.* **18. Restituit,** *he brought back.* **Tenentibus — plerisque,** the ablative absolute to express concession; *though a great many still remained in arms.* **20. Proprius,** *a peculiar;* arising from the character of the man. **Ex,** *of;* lit. from, *i. e.* emanating from, as a source. **Agitabat,** *kept uneasy.* **Ne,** *lest;* introducing the ground of the fear as it existed in the minds of the Britons. **21. Cetera,** *in other respects;* accusative of specification. **Arroganter consuleret,** *he should adopt haughty*

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57 *measures.* **22. Igitur,** *i. e.* because he could not crush out the spirit of rebellion. **23. Petronius Turpilianus** had command from A. D. 62–64. **Delictis,** dative. **24. Eoque,** *and therefore,* **eo** being ablative of cause. **Poenitentiae,** *towards their repentance;* dative = *iis poenitentibus.* **Compositis prioribus,** *former troubles having been allayed.* **25. Ultra,** *more.* **26. Trebellius** governed from A. D. 64–69. **Nullis,** *with no;* **experimentis** (= experientia) being ablative of quality. **27. Curandi,** *in governing.* On this sense of the word cf. Sall. Jug. 60. **28. Ignoscere,** *to show indulgence.* If we retain the comma after **ignoscere,** the **vitiis** following becomes ablative; if not, dative. On its retention or rejection, the opinions of editors are nearly evenly divided.

58 **1–11. Blandientibus,** *displaying their attractions;* our vices charming them into this indulgence. **Civilium armorum** refers to the rapid succession of civil wars which followed the death of Nero, when the empire became a sort of shuttlecock. **2. Discordia laboratum** (est), *trouble was occasioned by discord,* between Trebellius and Caelius. See Hist. I. 60. **3. Cum,** *since,* because. **Otio lasciviret,** *became demoralized from idleness.* **4. Order:** Trebellius indecorus atque humilis ira (*on account of the anger*) exercitus vitata fuga ac latebris. **5. Praefuit,** *sc.* exercitui. **6. Ac velut pacti** (sunt): *and they stipulated, as it were, the army for unbridled freedom, the general for safety.* **7. Stetit,** *subsisted,* maintained itself. **Vettius Bolanus** was governor from A. D. 69–71. Under him Agricola commanded the twentieth legion. **9. Disciplina,** *by his discipline;* i. e. it was too weak to disturb Britain. **10. Nullis invisis,** *hated for no;* **delictis** being ablative of cause. **11. Caritatem — auctoritatis,** *had gained* (for himself) *affection instead of authority.*

12–23. Cetero orbe, *i. e.* the rest of the Roman world besides Britain. **13. Recuperavit,** *i. e.* from the confusion and strife of the civil wars. **Duces,** *sc.* erant. **14. Intulit,** *spread.* **15. Petilius Cerialis** commanded from A. D. 71–75. **18. Aut victoria — aut bello,** *i. e.* he either wholly subdued or harassed by war. **19. Alterius,** *of another, i. e.* Frontinus; so the editors generally, though Wex insists that Agricola is meant, on the ground that *alter* cannot be used in the sense of *alius.* It may be remarked that this passage is corrupt, and that the MSS. afford no solution to its difficulties. **20. Sustinuitque.** Instead of **que** we should rather expect *sed,* which some editors adopt. **Molem,** *the burden,* the weight of responsibility. **21. Quantum licebat,** *as much as it*

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was permitted; modifying **sustinuit molem.** The limitation has 58
reference, doubtless, to the peculiar character of the times, when to become distinguished was dangerous. **22. Super,** *besides.*

24–28. Agricola now takes command, A. D. 78–85. **Vices,** *vicissitudes.* **25. Media jam,** *now in mid,* in the middle of. **26. Expeditione,** *the campaign.* **Securitatem,** *freedom from care.* **27. Verterentur,** in a deponent sense, *were turning, were betaking themselves.* **Ordovicum,** in Wales. **28. Alam,** *a troop of cavalry;* lit. a wing, because the Roman cavalry was stationed on the wings of the army. **Ala** was properly the body of cavalry belonging to a legion.

1–11. Agentem, *operating,* but with the additional idea of being 59
stationed or quartered there. **2. Erecta** (est), *was aroused.* **Provincia,** the whole province, not simply the state of the Ordovices. **Quibus — erat** = *those who wished for war.* The construction is imitated from the Greek. C. 156, 2; H. 387, Note 3; A. 231; G. 354, Rem.; Z. § 420, Note. **3. Probare,** *approved;* historical infinitive. **4. Agricola** is the subject of **statuit. Quamquam.** The clauses beginning at quamquam end at **videbatur. Transvecta** (est), *was past.* A Tacitean sense of the word. **Sparsi** (sunt). **5. Numeri,** *divisions* of the army; a post-Augustan use of the word. **Praesumpta** (erat) — **quies,** (*though*) *repose for that year had been anticipated* (counted on) *by the soldier.* **6. Tarda — inchoaturo,** *circumstances retarding and adverse to one about to begin a war.* These words are in apposition with the clauses beginning with **quamquam. 7. Custodiri suspecta** (loca), *that the suspected parts should be watched.* **Ire obviam** = *to face.* **8. Vexillis,** *the detachments;* apparently, detached portions of the legions each under a *vexillum.* **9. In aequum,** *into the plain* or the level ground. **11. Simili,** *by his equal.* **Erexit aciem,** *led his army up* the hill. Militaris dictio, admodum frequens apud Livium. W.

12–18. Instandum (esse sibi) **famae** = *that he must vigorously follow up the reputation* thus far acquired. **13. Prout — cessissent,** *just as his first attempts had succeeded.* The subjunctive reflects the thoughts of Agricola himself. **14. Possessione,** *from the possession;* ablative of separation. The omission of **a** is quite noticeable, though it is a well established fact that verbs of separation compounded with **re** may govern the ablative without a preposition. **16. Ut** = *as happens.* **17. Dubiis consiliis,** *doubtful plans,* i. e. whose success is subject to uncertainty. The succes-

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59 sive stages of a campaign cannot be predicted from the beginning **Ratio,** *the judgment,* understanding. A word often difficult to translate. **18. Transvexit,** *sc.* copias.

19–28. Auxiliarium, who were probably Britons, as the next clause seems to prove. Some, however, think they were Batavians, "who lived in a land of rivers and marshes." **Patrius,** *peculiar to their country,* as explained in the next line. **20. Quo,** *by which;* ablative of manner. **22. Mare,** *the sea,* and not the land as the first objective point of their enemies; or, that the enemy would approach by sea in ships. **23. Crediderint.** After the historical perfect **immisit,** *crederent* would be the regular tense. This violation of the rule of sequence occurs more frequently in sentences of result, as here. C. 234, 5; H. 495, VI.; A. 287, *c*; G. 513. The perfect in such cases is used to imply final result. **24. Haberi,** *was regarded;* historical infinitive. **25. Quippe—cui,** *because—him.* In such relative clauses, expressing a reason, Tacitus generally has *ut qui.* **Quod tempus,** *the time that;* the time just after a governor's arrival, **ingredienti provinciam. 26. Officiorum ambitum,** *a round of official courtesies;* such ceremonies as would naturally attend the advent of a new governor. **28. Usus,** *making use of.* **Expeditionem,** (*it*) *a campaign.*

60 **1–4. Victos continuisse,** *to have curbed the conquered.* **2. Laureatis,** *sc.* litteris (which is rarely omitted), *with laureled dispatches.* A general gaining an important victory forwarded to Rome the announcement of it in letters bound up with laurel leaves, the laurel being the emblem of victory. **Gesta,** *his achievements, i. e.* a report of them. **3. Aestimantibus** = *in the eyes of those who considered;* probably a dative of interest or reference, though some editors make it ablative absolute, *men considering.*

5–17. Animorum prudens, *knowing well the feelings,* temper or disposition. **6. Aliena,** *of others.* **Parum profici,** *that but little was gained.* **8. Domum suam,** *his own household,* i. e. his own immediate attendants and subordinates. **10. Nihil,** *sc.* agere, *he transacted;* historical infinitive. **11. Rei publicae,** (*no*) *public business;* partitive genitive. **Studiis privatis,** *according to his own private inclinations.* **Ex commendatione,** of others. **12. Milites.** The reference is to such attendant soldiers as clerks, lictors, purveyors, etc. **Ascire,** *he did* (*not*) *employ,* select. **13. Optimum — putare,** *he thought all the best the most trustworthy.* **Omnia,** *everything.* **14. Non exsequi,** *he did not punish.* **15. Poena,** ablative of cause. **17. Non peccaturos** = eos qui non

peccarent, *those who would not offend.* His rule was, prevention is better than cure. 60

19–28. **Munerum,** *of burdens,* in the shape of contributions of corn, taxes, and tribute. **Circumcisis,** *sc.* iis. **20. Reperta,** *devised.* **21. Per ludibrium,** *in mockery.* **Assidere** (from assideo) — **horreis,** *to sit by the closed granaries.* Tacitus is now speaking of enforced contributions of corn to the Roman governor, and is noticing the cunning methods of extortion devised by the Roman officials. He mentions two. First, in districts where corn was either scarce or had been bought up by the Romans and stored in granaries, the Britons, to make their contributions, must come to such granaries, where they often had to wait till they were opened (hence, **assidere — horreis**), purchase the corn with money (**emere — frumenta**); and, as they bought it *from* the Romans to give *to* the Romans, the corn remained in the granaries, the Britons merely parting with their money (**luere — pretio**). Second, in districts where corn was plenty, the contributions had to be conveyed to distant places difficult of access, and it was less troublesome and cheaper for the Britons to purchase the necessary corn (which was already in the hands of the Romans) with money. In both cases the Britons parted with their money. The true reading of the passage is subject to great uncertainty, and editors vary in their explanations of it. The explanation given is that of Wex, whose conjecture of **luere** for ludere we have adopted. **22. Ultro,** *besides.* **Luere pretio,** *to pay with the price;* or, to make atonement with the price, and not with the corn. **23. Devortia — indicebatur,** *by-ways off the roads and a distant part of the country were appointed.* **24. Proximis hibernis,** *the winter quarters being very near, i. e.* though the winter quarters were close to them. **Et avia,** *and out of the way places.* **25. Deferrent,** *sc.* frumentum. **Omnibus — erat,** *everybody had at hand,* i. e. corn. **Paucis,** the governor and his officials. **27. Statim,** *at once.* **Comprimendo,** *by suppressing.* **28. Intolerantia,** *from the insolence,* harshness.

2–12. **In agmine,** *on the march.* **3. Disjectos,** lit. the scattered 61
= *the stragglers.* **4. Castris,** dative. **Capere,** *selected.* Many traces of these camps still remain; two in particular, situated in Annondale, called Burnswork and Middleby. S. **5. Quo minus popularetur** = *but ravaged them;* the full force of **quo minus** appears only in connection with **nihil**: nothing — whereby he should ravage them less. **8. In,** *until,* up to. **Ex aequo,** *on an equality,* as independent states. **10. Circumdatae** (sunt). **Ratione,** *judg-*

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61 *ment;* method. **11. Ut — transierit.** The reading of this passage is doubtful. Some editors place the period after *pars*, and make **illacessita transiit** (changed from **transierit**) begin the next chapter. We follow Halm, Draeger, and Wex, except that the latter omits **pariter**, with the remark, *Alii vel* sic *vel* ita *vel* pariter *ante* illacessita *excidisse conjiciunt.* **Illacessita.** A word used only by Tacitus, and only twice. **12. Transierit,** *came over, i. e.* to the Romans.

13–25. Sequens hiems, A. D. 79–80. **14. Eoque,** *and therefore;* **eo** being ablative of cause. **In — faciles,** *ready for war,* prone to war. **16. Publice,** *in his public capacity,* probably "with grants from the treasury." **Ut — exstruerent.** Julius's *hof,* or house, the home of Julius Agricola, and Arthur's Oven, in Stirling, near the mouth of the Carron, are said to have been built under the direction of Agricola. S. **17. Castigando,** with words = vituperando. D. **18. Honoris aemulatio,** *a rivalry for honor,* for a higher social status. **Jam vero** = *now at length.* **19. Ingenia — anteferre,** *he preferred the natural talents of the Britons to the diligence of the Gauls,* implying that the latter had little or no talent, though they might be industrious. **20. Ut qui,** *so that they who.* **21. Eloquentiam,** *its eloquence.* **22. Habitus,** *dress,* style of dress. **Honor,** because it was the dress of their lordly conquerors. **23. Discessum** (est), *sc.* ab iis, *they turned aside.* **24. Porticus,** *arcades;* covered walks, or walks covered with roofs supported by columns, often built in the most magnificent style, and adorned with pictures and statues by the best masters. **Balnea.** Public baths were regarded as necessities by the Romans. **25. Humanitas,** *refinement.* **Cum,** *although;* hence **esset** is subjunctive of concession. **Pars servitutis.** Because they were thereby denationalized and assimilated to their conquerors.

27–28. Tertius annus, A. D. 80. **28. Tanaum,** *the Tanaus,* whose identity is uncertain. Some editors read **Taum** (from the margin of one of the MSS.), which is *the firth of Tay.* Agricola, however, did not reach that limit. Some editors think the Tyne may be meant.

62 **2–18. Conflictatum — tempestatibus,** *harassed by fierce storms.* **3. Ausi** (sunt). **Castellis,** dative. The remains of some of these are still to be seen between Ardoch and Innerpefferey. S. **4. Annotabant.** Notice the force of the imperfect: *used to remark.* **Opportunitates.** The plural implies suitableness in various respects. **7. Pactione,** *i. e.* with the enemy, capitulation. **Erup-**

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tiones, *sallies* from these fortresses. **8. Annuis copiis,** *with supplies for a year,* or, perhaps, *for the year.* **9. Quisque,** each commander of a fortress. **Irritis,** *being baffled.* **12. Pellebantur.** The imperfect marks the continuance of the enemy's defeats. **13. Intercepit,** *did — appropriate* to himself. **14. Facti,** *of his action.* **15. Apud quosdam** indicates those who related, not those who were reproached. **Conviciis,** *his reproaches,* reprimands. **16. Adversus malos** is much stronger than the simple dative, *malis,* would be. Besides, Tacitus is fond of varying his constructions. **17. Secretum,** *his reserve.* One had not to fear it because he did not cherish anger or ill-will. **18. Honestius,** (*it*) *more honorable.* **Offendere,** *i. e.* openly and once for all. 62

20–28. Quarta aestas, A. D. 81. **Obtinendis** (*securing*), *sc.* iis locis. **21. Si — pateretur.** The inference is that the spirit of the Romans could acknowledge no limit to their conquests, while there was anything to conquer. **22. Pateretur,** *had allowed;* the imperfect is used, because the glory of Rome still refused to allow. **Inventus** (esset). **23. Clota,** *the firth of Clyde;* **Bodotria,** *the firth of Forth.* **Diversi — revectae,** *carried back* (= inland) *by the tides of an opposite sea.* On the west, the "opposite sea" is the Irish sea; on the east, the North sea. **26. Propior sinus,** *i. e.* south of a line joining the firths of Clyde and Forth. **Sinus** probably means *indented coast,* as in Germ. 1 and 37. **28. Quinto anno,** A. D. 82. **Nave prima,** *in the first ship;* which probably means the first Roman ship that crossed the Clota. **Transgressus,** *having crossed over* the firth of Clyde.

3–17. In spem, *i. e.* with a view to the conquest of Ireland. 63
What is said here and farther on is an illustration of the far-reaching policy of Rome. **4. Si quidem,** *if indeed = since.* **Hibernia miscuerit,** *Ireland might unite;* the perfect subjunctive in apodosis representing the attainment of the result as possible. Wex says **miscuerit** = μίξειεν ἄν, *sc.* si expugnata fuerit. **Medio,** *sc.* in. **6. Opportuna,** *convenient,* favorably situated. Tacitus suggests that Ireland was favorably situated for uniting in commercial intercourse Britain, Gaul, and Spain. **Magnis — usibus,** *by great mutual advantages.* **Usibus** is the instrumental ablative. **8. Nostri maris,** the Mediterranean. **9. Caelum,** *climate.* **Ingenia — que,** *the natural abilities, and the mode of life* or state of civilization. **10. Aditus,** *its approaches.* **Melius cogniti** (sunt), *i. e.* than the interior. **14. Ex eo.** It is highly probable that Agricola is meant, though some editors maintain that **regulus** is referred

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63 to, and hence draw the conclusion that Tacitus was at this time in Britain. **15. Idque,** *and that that* force. **16. Romana arma,** *sc.* essent, which had better been expressed. **17. Ubique,** *i. e. everywhere* in the neighborhood, within supporting distance.

18–28. Sextum annum, A. D. 83. **19. Amplexus,** *having embraced* in his plans. **20. Motus,** *a movement.* **Ultra,** *beyond* the firth of Forth. **Infesta itinera,** *the molested marches;* i. e. rendered dangerous by the sudden attacks of an enemy who were well acquainted with the country. **Hostilis exercitus,** *i. e.* of the Roman army. **22. In — virium** = *as a part of his forces.* **23. Egregia specie,** *with imposing display.* **Cum simul — simul,** *since at the same time both — and.* The fleet and the army kept within easy supporting distance. **24. Impelleretur,** *was being urged on.* **Isdem** = iisdem. **25. Mixti — laetitia,** *mingled together with their provisions and their merriment.* The soldiers and sailors mingled in merry gatherings over their meals. **27. Profunda,** *the depths,* i. e. the great extent. **28. Adversa,** *the hardships.* **Hinc — hinc,** *on this side — on that side; here — there.*

64 **2–13. Visa classis,** *the fleet seen* = the sight of the fleet. **3. Secreto,** *the secret,* the secret existence. **4. Clauderetur.** The subjunctive reflects the thought of the Britons: *oratio obliqua.* **Ad manus,** *to force,* to action. **5. Conversi,** *turning;* in a deponent sense. **6. Majore fama,** *i. e.* rumor represented the preparation to be greater than it was. **Oppugnare** is governed by **adorti,** *having attempted.* **Ultro,** *actually, on their part;* **ut provocantes,** *as the challengers.* **9. Pellerentur,** *sc.* ut. **Specie prudentium,** *with the air of prudent men.* **Pluribus,** *in several;* **agminibus,** *lines* or *columns,* is ablative of manner. **12. Et ipse,** *he himself also.* This peculiar position of the subject, in the midst of an ablative absolute clause, seems designed to draw attention to the fact that the agent in both actions (**diviso exercitu, incessit**) is the same.

18–28. Iter, governed by **edoctus. 19. Vestigiis insecutus,** *having followed in their tracks;* **vestigiis** is instrumental ablative. **20. Assultare,** *to dash upon.* **Tergis,** *the rear;* dative. **21. Ab universis,** *by the whole body* of the advancing legions. **Propinqua,** *approaching:* appropinquante. W. **22. Ancipiti,** *by a double, i. e.* in front and rear. **23. Pro salute** = the more usual *de salute.* Cf. *Hist.* IV. 58. **24. Ultro,** *on their part;* or better, *actually.* **Quin etiam** (= quinetiam), nay even, *besides, moreover.* **Erupere,** *they sallied forth,* i. e. the soldiers of the ninth legion. **25. Pulsi** (sunt). **Utroque exercitu,** the ninth

legion and the troops that Agricola brought to their aid. 27. 64
Eguisse auxilio. C. 143 and 170; H. 410, V. 1, and 414, I.; A. 223, and 243; G. 389. **Quod nisi,** *and (had) not.* **28. Debellatum foret,** impersonally: *the war would have been ended.*

1–12. **Conscientia** and **fama** are ablatives of cause after **ferox,** 65
elated. **Nihil,** *sc.* esse. **4. Illi — sapientes** are those who previously, *specie prudentium,* advised a retreat. **Modo,** *but a short time before.* **7. Vindicant,** *sc.* milites. **Uni,** *i. e.* duci. **8. Occasione,** *by a fortunate occurrence.* **Victos,** *sc.* se esse. But the reading of this passage is uncertain, and the MSS. afford no means of correcting the text. **Victos** (instead of *ducis* in the MSS.) is the conjecture of Lipsius. **9. Quo minus,** the use of which in Tacitus is somewhat peculiar, is best rendered by *but.* **11. Conspirationem,** *a confederacy.* **12. Discessum,** *sc.* est ab iis, *they* (Romans and Britons) *separated.*

13–28. **Germanias,** Upper and Lower, or Superior and Inferior. **16. Tradendam,** *imparting,* teaching. **Manipulis,** dative. **17. Exemplum — habebantur,** *were kept* (in the camp) *as a pattern and as directors* of their military training. **18.** The **ad** in **adactis** = *to them.* **Uno remigante.** This is the reading of the best MSS., and is explained as meaning *one directing the rowers.* Other readings are *morigerante, remigrante, renaviganti.* **20. Rumore,** of their mutinous conduct. **Ut — praevehebantur,** *they sailed along as something wonderful;* as a marvellous sight to the inhabitants of the shores of Britain. **Mox — exeuntes.** This is the conjectural reading of Halm for *atque ut illa raptis secum plerisque* in the MSS., which being destitute of sense, editors have variously supplied conjectural readings. The passage is now doubtless incurable. **23. Ad extremum,** *at last;* **eo inopiae,** *to that degree of want;* partitive genitive. C. 133, 4, *b*; H. 397, 4; A. 216, 4; G. 371, Rem. 4. **25. Ductos,** *those drawn.* Tacitus adopts the old construction of **vescor** with an accusative, on account of **sorte** being in the ablative, and the next word. S. **28. Fuere.** After such indefinite expressions Tacitus generally has the subjunctive; here he has the indicative, **illustravit.**

1–2. **Venumdatos.** This verb is mostly used of the sale of 66
captured slaves. **Nostram ripam** (Rheni), the left or western bank. **Mutatione ementium,** *by a change of buyers,* by being sold and resold, etc. **2. Indicium,** *the disclosure,* the narration of it by themselves. **Casus,** *adventure.*

3–20. **Aestatis,** A. D. 84. **5. Ambitiose,** *ostentatiously;* but the

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66 connection shows that stoical indifference is the ostentation meant. "He did not affect a stoical indifference in order to excite the admiration of others." S. **6. Rursus,** *on the other hand.* **8. Quae** = ut ea, *that it;* hence followed by subjunctive of purpose, **faceret. Incertum,** *vague,* and leaving the enemy in doubt as to ultimate purpose. **9. Expedito,** *being unencumbered* with baggage. **10. Exploratos,** *tried,* and found trustworthy. **11. Graupium** is the MSS. form of the name, though Grampium is the more common and familiar: now the Grampian hills. **12. Nihil,** accusative of specification. **17. Affluebat,** *were flocking.* **18. Et quibus** (erat), *and those who had.* **Cruda,** *fresh.* Cf. *Virg. Aen.* VI. 304. **19. Decora,** *decorations,* honorary distinctions, trophies, and rewards of valor. **20. Praestans,** *one distinguished.* **Calgacus.** So the name occurs in the MSS. The more familiar form is Galgacus.

23–28. Necessitatem, of fighting or submitting. **24. Animus,** *confidence.* **Hodiernum diem** = *that this day.* **26. Servitutis expertes** (sumus). **Nullae ultra terrae** (*sc.* sunt), i. e. our island home prevents our fleeing to other lands for refuge. **Ultra,** *beyond.*

67 **1–10. Honesta,** *honorable.* **Eadem** = *also;* a meaning which this word has quite frequently. **Etiam,** *even.* **3. Certatum est** = *the contest was waged.* **Subsidium,** *a reserve;* a body of reserve, like the Roman triarii, of whom Tacitus seems to have been thinking. **4. Eoque,** *and therefore.* **5. In — penetralibus,** *in its innermost parts,* as it were, in the sanctuary of the island. "*Penetralia sunt penatium deorum sacraria.*" Tacitus seems then to make Galgacus say, that the Caledonians were the guardians of the welfare of Britain. **Servientium litora,** *the shores of slaves* to the Romans, i. e. the opposite shores of Gaul. **7. Nos — extremos,** *i. e.* us, who are the ends of the world, and the last people to maintain their liberty. **Extremos** forms an apposition with **nos. 8. Sinus famae.** These words are difficult to interpret, and editors vary in their explanation of them. We are inclined to think that their true meaning is *the concealment of our fame,* i. e. our hitherto unknown name, which is compared to something concealed in the bosom, in the folds of a toga. Then **recessus ipse** (*our very remoteness*) is answered by **nunc — patet,** and **sinus famae** by **omne — magnifico est;** the idea in the latter clause is, as our country is unknown, so the Romans attach great importance to its conquest. Some editors make **famae** a dative depending on **defendit.**

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11–19. Infestiores, *i. e.* than the waves and rocks. **15. Avari,** 67
sc. sunt. **Ambitiosi,** *ambitious,* eager for power and the fame of conquest. **Quos** = cum eos, *since — them;* the relative clause expressing reason. **17. Affectu,** *fondness,* desire. **18. Falsis — imperium,** *sc.* appellant.

20–28. Liberos suos, *one's children.* **21. Servituri,** *doomed to serve;* the future participle denoting purpose. **24. In tributum,** *in tribute* or taxes. **25. Annus** = *the produce of the year.* **In frumentum,** *in* (contributions of) *corn.* **26. Emuniendis,** *in clearing,* in making passable by constructing roads and causeways. **28. Ultro,** *besides;* actually; whereas we feed our masters. We give here the emended reading of this sentence instead of the unintelligible reading of the manuscripts: bona fortunae quae in tributum aggerat annus . . . conterunt.

1–15. Emit, by paying tribute. **Pascit,** by supplying the 68
enemy with provisions. **3. Vetere famulatu,** the servitude to which the Romans have for a long time reduced the world. **4. Nos** is emphatic; hence its use. **Viles,** *worthless,* explains **in excidium**; we are only fit for destruction. **5. Neque — sunt;** if we had mines, etc., our masters would make us work them. Galgacus is now speaking of the Caledonians only. **6. Quibus** = ut iis, hence the following subjunctive, **reservemur. Exercendis,** *for working.* **Ferocia,** *the high spirit.* **8. Secretum,** *seclusion,* secluded situation. **Quo — eo** = *the — the;* ablatives of degree of difference. **9. Tam — quam,** *as well* (those of you) — *as* (those of you). **11. Femina duce.** Tacitus probably refers to Boadicea, who was queen of the Iceni, and in her revolt was aided by the Trinobantes. Cf. *Annal.* XIV. 31. **12. Felicitas,** *their good fortune.* **13. Potuere** governs the preceding infinitives. **Integri,** *i. e.* we have not yet met the enemy. **14. In poenitentiam,** like those who suffer the penalties of unsuccessful rebellion. **Arma** is wanting in the MSS., and is the conjecture of Wex. Without it the passage can scarcely be read. **Statim** = *very;* at once. **15. Quos** = quales, *what kind of.*

16–28. An creditis, *do you suppose?* **21. Nisi si** = nisi, except that **nisi si** rarely introduces an ironical limitation. **Pudet,** *sc.* me, *I am ashamed.* **22. Alienae,** *a foreign,* of foreigners. **23. Hostes** and **servos** are in apposition with **Gallos,** etc.

1–16. Aut nulla — aut alia. In the first case he may refer to 69
those Britons who had betrayed their country; in the second, to such allies as the Gauls, Batavians, etc. **7. Nostras manus,** *our*

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69 *own forces,* such of the allies of the Romans as waited only for opportunity to join the Britons. **9. Ceteri,** *i. e.* besides the Usipi. **Tam quam,** *just as.* **Usipi,** namely, those already mentioned as having circumnavigated Britain. **11. Senum** = veteranorum, previously mentioned. Cf. c. 5. **Inter — discordantia,** *feeble and discordant free towns in the midst of citizens yielding an unwilling obedience and those that govern unjustly.* **Parentes** are British subjects, and **imperantes** their Roman rulers. **12. Hic,** here, on our side. **15. Est,** *it remains.*

17–28. Alacres = *with enthusiasm* or lively demonstrations. **Ut — moris** = *as is the custom with barbarians; i. e.* ut (hoc facere est) barbaris moris. Compare Germania, 21, and see note, line 3, page 28. **19. Agmina,** *sc.* videbantur; the lines were seen moving. **20. Procursu,** *by the sallying forward* to the front. **Acies,** Britannorum. **21. Coercitum,** *restrained.* **22. Adhuc,** *besides.* **Octavus annus,** *i. e.* the beginning of it. **23. Auspiciis,** *under the auspices.* **25. Vicistis,** *you have been conquering.* **Tot expeditionibus,** *in so many campaigns.* The construction may be taken as a concessive ablative absolute: though the campaigns have been so many. **Seu — seu,** *whether — or.* **27. Adversus — naturam,** *i. e.* beyond the limits of human endurance and toil. **Neque me poenituit,** *neither have I been dissatisfied with.* **Me militum. 28. Egressi,** *having passed beyond ;* here transitive and governing **terminos.** Notice that the participle here agrees with the **ego** and **vos** following it.

70 **1–19. Veterum,** *i. e.* priorum. **2. Fama,** *by report.* Qui fama aliquid cognovit, ipse non oculis vidit; qui rumore, non comperta audivit. W. **3. Britannia,** *i. e.* the whole of it. **4. In agmine,** *on the march.* **5. Audiebam,** the imperfect denoting repetition. **7. Vota — aperto,** lit. your wishes and your valor are in an open field = *your wishes and your valor have free scope.* **8. Prona,** *favorable.* **10. Pulchrum** (est), *is glorious.* **In frontem** = *when advancing,* while facing the enemy. **11. Quae,** *sc.* ea. **14. Quod** = *in so far as.* **Jam pridem,** *long ago,* long since. **16. Terga,** *that retreat.* **18. Naturae fine.** Cf. *Germ.* 45.

20–28. Constitisset, *had taken their stand* against you. **22. Decora,** *glorious deeds.* **24. Clamore,** *with a* (mere) *shout.* **Ceterorum — fugacissimi,** an idiom imitated from the Greek, and though used by the best Greek writers, its imitation is not permitted in English. **26. Quo modo** (in what manner) = *just as.* **Penetrantibus,** *sc.* iis, probably dative of disadvantage, though it

may be taken as ablative absolute. **27. Contra ruere,** *rush against,* 70
rush on to meet. Some editors make **ruere** depend on *solet* understood. It may, however, be regarded as the historical infinitive. **Pavida,** *sc.* animalia. **28. Agminis,** *of the band* of hunters, etc.

2–9. Quos — restiterunt, *not because you have at last found* 71
them have they come to a halt, have they stood their ground. **3. Novissimae — aciem.** These are the words of the best MSS., but Tacitus could not have penned so harsh and crude a sentence. Editors have attempted various emendations. As the passage stands, it is, *their affairs are desperate, and their bodies from extreme terror have rooted their battle line in these places.* Or we may omit the comma after **res** and translate, *their desperate circumstances and their bodies, etc.* Halm calls the passage a *locus insanabilis.* **5. In quibus** = ut in iis, *that in them,* with subjunctive of purpose, **ederetis,** *you might display.* **6. Transigite cum,** *put an end to.* **Imponite — diem,** lit. put a great day to fifty years = *crown fifty years with a great day.* He is speaking in round numbers; from the expedition of A. Plautius it was only forty-two years. S. **8. Imputari potuisse,** *could have been imputed.*

11–17. Eminebat, *broke forth.* **Alacritas,** *enthusiasm.* **14. Mediam — firmarent** = *formed a strong centre.* Nicht als ob sie andere, die dort standen, verstärkten, sondern sie selbst bildeten ein festes Centrum. D. **15. Affunderentur,** *were dispatched to.* Tacitus uses the word as a poet would: *were poured upon.* **Pro vallo,** *before the intrenchment* or palisaded rampart of their camp; behind the auxiliaries. **16. Ingens — bellanti,** *an immense glory to the victory for him fighting* (= if he fought) *without* (shedding) *Roman blood;* i. e. the victory would be all the more glorious if he could win it without the aid of the legions. **Victoriae** is genitive. **Citra** = *without;* in this sense only in later Latin. **17. Bellanti,** *sc.* ei = Agricolae; dative of advantage. **Pellerentur,** *sc.* auxilia, which should have been expressed, and probably would have been but for the preceding **auxilium.**

18–28. In speciem, *for display,* for effect. **19. Constiterat,** *had taken its position.* **Primum agmen,** *sc.* consisteret, implied in **constiterat.** The use of **agmen** for *acies* is noticeable. **20. Per — jugum,** *along the ascending ridge.* **Connexi velut,** *as if linked together,* without any break in the line. **Media campi,** *the middle of the field* or the space between the two armies. **21. Covinnarius eques,** *the chariot warrior;* singular for plural. Covinnus is a Celtic word with a Latin ending. **23. Simul — simul et** = *at the*

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71 *same time both — and.* **24. Diductis ordinibus,** *the ranks being widened* by being extended at the wings. **Porrectior,** *too extended,* and therefore more easily broken. **25. Futura erat** = *was likely to be;* neither *erat,* was, nor *esset,* would be; but a mean between the two. **26. Promptior — adversis,** *more open to hope and strong against reverses* (with at least an assumed confidence that they would not occur). Agricola, on this decisive field, wished to appear more hopeful than usual, and more confident of success, and to inspire his soldiers with the same feelings. To this end he dismounted and took his stand on foot. **Adversis,** which some editors consider in the dative, seems rather to be an ablative of specification, *firm in respect to reverses.* **28. Vexilla,** *the ensigns* of the auxiliaries; and therefore in the front. It cannot refer to the legions, because in taking such a position, Agricola would be acting inconsistently with what he had already done.

72 **1–15. Constantia,** *with steady courage.* **2. Brevibus** = *small.* The **cetra** was a small round shield covered with hide. Dict. Antiqq. **Excutere,** from their shields. **5. Mucrones ac manus,** *to sword-points and hand to hand fight.* **6. Quod,** *which* mode of fighting; sc. erat. **7. Inhabile,** *impracticable.* **9. Complexum armorum,** lit. the embrace of arms = *the crossing of swords.* **In arto pugnam** = *fighting at close quarters.* **10. Miscere ictus,** *dealt out their blows.* **Ferire** = *parried.* **12. Erigere,** *to lead up.* **15. Festinatione victoriae,** *in the haste for victory.* **Equitum,** *sc.* Romanorum.

16–23. Ut — haerebant. The reading, punctuation, and interpretation of this passage vary in different editions. Halm, Wex, Draeger, and Kritz supply **ut,** which is not found in the MSS. **17. Recentem,** *a fresh* terror, besides that caused by the charge of the infantry. **Intulerant,** *sc.* equites Romani. **18. Inaequalibus,** *uneven.* The rapid advance of the Roman cavalry was checked by the dense lines of the enemy and the rough ground. **19. Haerebant** = *were embarrassed,* retarded. **Minime,** *by no means.* The passage **minime — impellerentur** is one of the most corrupt in Tacitus, and has been made simply readable by different editors. We follow the text of Wex. **20. Cum,** *since.* **Aegre stantes** (Romani), because their position was now on the slopes of the hills. **Equorum** (*sc.* Romanorum), *of their horses.* **21. Impellerentur,** *they were impelled,* i. e. by the slipping and generally unsteady footing of the horses. **23. Transversos aut obvios** (Romanos), *across or full against them.*

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24–28. Expertes, *without a share in.* **25. Vacui,** *unconcerned,* 72
without apprehension. **27. Ni.** Before this word we must mentally supply *et circumissent.* **Id ipsum,** *that very thing.* **28. Alas,** *squadrons.* **Subita,** *the sudden emergencies.*

1–17. Quanto — tanto = *the — the.* **2. Consilium,** *the design* of 73
attacking the Romans in the rear. **3. Transvectae alae,** *the squadrons riding across* the field. **4. Pugnantium,** *of the combatants.* **Aversam,** lit. turned about, hence = *the rear of,* the routed. **6. Grande — trucidare.** Compare with this *Sall. Jug.* 101. **Sequi — trucidare,** historical infinitives. The description of the rapid movements is rendered more graphic by the asyndeton. **7. Eosdem,** *the same,* i. e. those who had just been made prisoners. They were slaughtered on account of **oblatis aliis. 8. Armatorum,** *though armed,* agrees with **hostium. 9. Ultro,** *actually.* **12. Victis — virtusque.** Compare Virg. Aen. II. 367. **13. Primos,** *the foremost.* **14. Quod ni,** *and (had) not.* **Frequens ubique** = *everywhere present.* **15. Cohortes,** *sc.* progredi, or something equivalent, on account of the zeugma in **persultare;** so also with **partem equitum. Indaginis modo,** *after the manner of a hunting-circle,* i. e. as hunters surround a space of ground, and by gradually contracting the circle drive the game towards the centre. See Lex. **16. Artiora,** *sc.* loca; i. e. thickets. **17. Rariores,** *the more open.* **Persultare** = *to scour.*

19–28. Compositos — ordinibus, *them arranged in compact order,* in close ranks. **20. Versi** (sunt). **21. Rari,** in order to escape the more easily. **Vitabundi in vicem,** *avoiding one another.* **22. Avia,** *unfrequented parts.* **23. Ad,** *about;* in this sense with numerals. **24. Quis** = quibus. **27. Laeta,** *gladsome,* agrees with **nox.**

1–13. Trahere, *carried away.* Nine historical infinitives follow. 74
2. Ultro, *actually.* **3. Miscere in vicem,** *concerted together;* **miscere,** from the notion of mingling together, implying an interchange of views. **4. Deinde separare** (*sc.* consilia), *and then acted separately.* **5. Pignorum,** *i. e.* their wives and children. **Concitari,** *they were violently moved.* **8. Vastum,** *a desolate,* gloomy. **10. Incerta** (esse), *were uncertain,* is the predicate. **12. Spargi,** *be distributed,* carried on in different parts at the same time. Cf. Ann. III. 21. **13. Borestorum,** of whom nothing else is known.

14–28. Circumvehi, *to sail around,* to circumnavigate. The infinitive after *praecipere* (instead of *ut circumvehatur*) is an

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74 unusual construction, occurring only in some of the later writers. **15. Vires** = *a force.* **18. Secunda — fama,** *with favorable weather and our renown.* **19. Trutulensem portum,** of which nothing is known. **Unde** is to be taken with **lecto,** *having been coasted.* It seems clear from what Tacitus says, that the fleet started from a harbor on the east coast of Scotland, not far from the firth of Forth, and, without actually circumnavigating Britain, pursued the coast far enough to prove that it was an island; and then returned to the same harbor. **22. Epistolis,** *i. e.* in his reports and dispatches. **Auctum,** *amplified,* embellished. **Domitiano — erat.** See chap. 33, and Germ. 13, and 21. **23. Fronte,** *in his countenance.* **24. Inerat,** *there was in him.* **Falsum triumphum,** over the Chatti, whom he had not even seen. Cf. Dio Cass. LXVII. 4. **25. Emptis,** *sc.* iis = servis. **Quorum** = ut eorum; hence the following subjunctive. **28. Id sibi, etc.,** *that it was, etc.;* the construction may depend on **inerat conscientia,** or we may supply *putabat,* or something equivalent.

75 **2–9. Studia fori,** *the pursuits of the forum;* especially eloquence. **Civilium artium,** referring especially to politics, law, and government. **3. Acta** (esse), *had been driven.* **4. Cetera,** than great military renown. **Utcumque** = *in some manner.* Some editors join it with **facilius. Imperatoriam,** *imperial,* befitting an emperor. **5. Quodque** = et quod. **6. Secreto suo,** *with his secret,* his dark and secret intentions. This seems to accord better with the context than *with his seclusion,* as the words are rendered by some. **8. Impetus,** *the outburst.*

10–28. Triumphalia ornamenta. After the year 14 B. C. the honor of a triumphal entry was rarely granted; instead of it *triumphal decorations* were decreed. These were the corona laurea, toga praetexta, tunica palmata, and sella curulis. **12. Honore,** *compliment.* **13. Opinionem,** *an impression;* probably in the decree itself; perhaps otherwise. **15. Majoribus** = *for men of more than ordinary distinction;* i. e. this rich province was, as a rule, given to men of peculiar distinction. **16. Ex** implies *of the number of those employed in.* **Codicillos,** *dispatches,* orders. **19. Freto,** of Dover. **22. Traditerat — provinciam.** In A. D. 85. **23. Celebritate;** a complimentary reception by friends, seems to be the meaning, though Ruperti makes the word synonymous with **frequentia. 25. Officio,** *the kindly attentions.* **26. Brevi,** *with a slight;* cold and ceremonious. **Turbae servientium,** *with the crowd of servile courtiers.* **28. Grave,** *odious.* **Otiosos,** *men of leisure,* not engaged in war.

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1–15. Hausit is the conjecture of Wex, for *auxit* in the MSS.; in 76 which he is followed by Halm and Draeger. **Cultu,** *in his style of living.* **2. Altero,** i. e. *two.* **3. Adeo,** *so,* to such a degree. **Ambitionem,** *their display.* **4. Aspecto** implies a more attentive observation than **viso. Quaererent,** *sought for,* i. e. inquired for the reason of his fame, and were unable to satisfy themselves in regard to it. **5. Interpretarentur,** *explained* it, i. e. understood his motives. **8. Laesi,** *injured.* **10. Laudantes,** *his praisers,* eulogizers. **Ea** = talia; hence **quae** = ut ea, with the subjunctive. **11. Sileri,** *to be passed over in silence.* **15. Limite** here denotes the actual fortified boundary line which had been drawn for the defence of the empire against the German and Sarmatian tribes on the side of Pannónia and Dacia. C. **Ripa,** the right bank of the Danube, as far as the Quadi and Marcomanni. S.

17–28. Omnis, *the whole.* **21. Ceterorum.** The MSS. have *eorum.* The emendation is that of Grotius, and is adopted by most recent editors. **22. Verberatas** (esse). A strong expression, and suggestive of the painful impression produced on the tyrant. **Optimus — libertorum,** *all the best of his freedmen.* That freedmen in those times frequently possessed great power, and held influential positions, is well known from various passages in Tacitus, Pliny, and Seneca. **23. Amore et fide,** *from affection and fidelity* towards Domitian. **Pessimi,** *sc.* liberti. **24. Deterioribus** = *to the baser sort of men.* **26. Ipsam — praeceps.** His very glory was hurrying him on to ruin. **27. Annus,** generally supposed to be A. D. 89 or 90. **Asiae — Africae.** Each of these provinces formed a proconsulate. **28. Sortiretur,** *he was to draw lots for.* The senior consulars drew lots for these provinces. W. **Civica Cerialis,** proconsul of Asia, put to death by Domitian.

1–12. Consilium, *a purpose;* not to accept the appointment. 77 **Exemplum,** *a precedent.* **2. Cogitationum,** *with the intentions;* limiting **periti. 3. Ultro,** *actually.* **4. Occultius,** *somewhat obscurely.* **Laudare,** *sc.* ii, i. e. periti. **5. Approbanda,** *making good.* **6. Non jam,** *no longer.* **7. Pertraxere,** *they dragged him,* i. e. caused him to go unwillingly. **8. In — compositus,** *equipped with a lordly bearing;* assuming a haughty demeanor. **Excusantis,** *sc.* ejus = Agricolae. **10. Beneficii invidia,** *at the hatefulness of the favor.* **Salarium.** It is not known what this *usual* salary was, but it seems probable that in later times it amounted to as much as $40,000. **12.** (Id) **non petitum** (esse). **Conscientia,** *a consciousness;* implying fear and hence **ne** = *lest.*

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77 **15–28. Quo — irrevocabilior,** *the darker, the more implacable;* the more that of a fiend, the less that of a man. **18. Libertatis,** *of freedom* in his conduct, such as would show a disregard for the views and authority of the tyrant. **Provocabat,** *did he stimulate;* i. e. did he seek to augment his fame or accelerate the approach of his fate. **19. Sciant — mirari,** *let those know whose custom it is to admire unlawful things;* Tacitus is alluding to those who, in defiance or disregard of tyranny, dare to do what is forbidden by its authority; "as, for example, when Helvidius Priscus openly celebrated the birthday of Brutus and Cassius." S. **21. Eo — excedere,** *rise to that degree of distinction.* **22. Per abrupta,** *by precipitous paths;* by an uneven course of conduct; by opposition to the emperor. **25. Vulgus,** *the general public.* **26. Hic — populus,** *the people in this case acting differently,* i. e. from what they were accustomed to do. The words are differently explained by different editors. We give what seems to be the natural meaning of the words, lit. *here doing another thing.* **27. Per — circulos,** *in public places and in knots.*

78 **2–16. Nobis — ausim,** *I cannot venture to affirm that we have anything well ascertained;* with **nihil** supply esse; **comperti** is the participle used as a noun in the partitive genitive. **4. Visentis,** *visiting,* agrees with **principatus.** **5. Intimi,** *the most confidential* of the prince's physicians. **7. Momenta — deficientis** (ejus), *that the successive moments of his sinking.* **Dispositos,** *stationed at intervals.* **8. Credente,** *supposing.* **Accelerari,** *sc.* ea = *that those tidings.* **10. Prae se tulit** = *he showed,* let be seen. **Et qui** = et cum is, *and because he;* with causal subjunctive. **12. Coheredem Domitianum.** This was done simply to secure some of his property to his family. **14. Velut — que,** *as if* (Agricola had made him an heir) *in compliment and from choice.* **16. Nisi — principem,** *that a prince, unless bad.*

17–28. Caio — Juniis, June 13th, A. D. 40. **18. Sexto.** As Collega and Priscus were consuls A. D. 93, *quarto* should have been written instead of *sexto.* **19. Decimo,** *sc.* die ante. **20. Habitum ejus,** *his personal appearance.* **21. Decentior — sublimior,** *rather well made than tall.* **22. Gratia — supererat,** *grace of expression* (a gracious expression) *predominated.* **24. Medio — aetatis,** *in the mid career of unimpaired age* = "in the prime of life." C. **25. Quantum ad gloriam** = *as regards glory.* **27. Impleverat** = *he had attained.*

79 **1–28. Speciosae,** *handsome;* "sufficient wealth to make a hand-

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some appearance." C. **4. Nam — ominabatur.** We give Ritter's emendation here, who substitutes *quondam* for *quod* of the MSS. **8. Solatium tulit,** that negative consolation (or compensation) which consisted in not having lived to suffer. **10. Spiramenta,** *breathing spells,* i. e. pauses. **14. Una victoria censebatur,** *was rated at but one victory.* Carus Metius was one of the most notorious informers under Domitian. He had as yet caused the death of but one victim. **15. Albanam arcem,** *the Alban stronghold,* was one of Domitian's villas, at the foot of the Alban mount. **16. Sententia,** *the counsel.* **Messalinus** was another notorious informer. **17. Baebius reus.** After he had been procurator of Africa. **Nostrae manus,** the hands of senators, of whom Tacitus was one. **18. Nos — visus** (*sc.* perculit), *the sight of Mauricus, etc.* The bold zeugma in **perfudit** makes it necessary to supply some such verb as *perculit.* Mauricus and Rusticus were brothers; the former was executed, the latter banished. **19. Senecio.** See chap. 2. **22. Videre et aspici,** *to see* him *and to be observed* by him. **Subscriberentur,** were accused, i. e. *were made matter of accusation.* **23. Sufficeret,** *was enough,* sufficed. **24. Pudorem,** *shame.* **28. Constans — libens** = *with courage and cheerfulness.* 79

1–28. Pro — portione = *to the best of thy ability.* In the Augustan age the phrase was *pro virili parte.* **2. Filiae ejus,** who was the wife of Tacitus. **7. Dolor,** *sc.* fuit. **8. Condicione,** *by the circumstance.* **12. Desideravere aliquid,** *missed something,* felt that something was wanting. **13. Sapientibus,** *i. e.* the philosophers. **15. Infirmo desiderio,** *weak regret.* **18. Admiratione — colamus.** The text of this passage is uncertain. We follow that of Halm. **19. Si — suppeditat,** *if nature suffices,* i. e. *if our natural powers are equal to the task.* **20. Id praeceperim,** *I would give this precept.* **24. Non — imaginibus,** *not because I think a veto should be put on images* (*of ancestors*). **28. Tenere et exprimere,** *to retain and to represent,* or, to possess and to express. **Alienam,** *of others,* i. e. of artists, of sculptors. 80

1–7. Sed — moribus, *but yourself in your own character.* **3. Mansurum est,** *is destined to remain.* **4. Fama rerum,** *i. e.* in the record of achievements, in history. **Fama rerum** scheint ein neuer Ansdruck für "Geschichte." Dr. 81

NOTES

TO THE

DIALOGUE ON ORATORS.

ARGUMENT.

1. Reasons for writing the dialogue. 2. The persons engaged in it; at first Curiatius Maternus, Marcus Aper, and Julius Secundus. 3. Secundus endeavors to dissuade Maternus from thinking any more of dramatic composition. 4. Maternus gives his reasons for persisting. 5–7. Aper condemns his resolution; and in point of utility, real happiness, fame, and dignity, contends that the oratorical profession is preferable to the poetical. 8. He cites the example of Eprius Marcellus and Crispus Vibius, who raised themselves by their eloquence to the highest honors. 9. Poetical fame brings with it no advantage. 10. He exhorts Maternus to relinquish the Muses, and devote his whole time to eloquence and the business of the bar. 11–13. Maternus defends his favorite studies; the pleasures arising from poetry are in their nature innocent and sublime; the fame is extensive and immortal; the poet enjoys the most delightful intercourse with his friends, whereas the life of the public orator is a state of warfare and anxiety. 14. Vipstanus Messala enters the room; he finds his friends engaged in a controversy, and being an admirer of ancient eloquence, he advises Aper to adopt the model of the ancients in preference to the plan of the modern rhetoricians. 15–17. Hence a difference of opinion concerning the merits of the ancients and moderns; he desires to know who are to be accounted ancients. 18–19. Eloquence has various modes, all changing with the conjuncture of the times; but it is the nature of men to praise the past and to censure the present. The period when Cassius Severus flourished is stated to be the point of time at which men ceased to be ancients. Cassius with good reason deviated from the ancient manner. 20. Defects of ancient eloquence;

the modern style more refined and elegant. 21. The character of Calvus, Caelius, Caesar, and Brutus; and also of Asinius Pollio and Messala Corvinus. 22. The praise and censure of Cicero. 23. The true rhetorical art consists in blending the virtues of ancient oratory with the beauties of the modern style. 24. Maternus observes that there can be no dispute about the superior reputation of the ancient orators; he therefore calls on Messala to take that point for granted, and proceed to an inquiry into the causes that produced so great an alteration. 25–26. After some observations on the eloquence of Calvus, Asinius Pollio, Caesar, Cicero, and others, Messala praises Gracchus and Lucius Crassus, but censures Mecaenas, Gallio, and Cassius Severus. 27–33. Maternus reminds Messala of the true point in question; Messala proceeds to assign the causes which occasioned the decay of eloquence, such as the dissipation of the young men, the inattention of their parents, the ignorance of the rhetorical professors, and the total neglect of discipline. 34. He proceeds to explain the plan of study, and the institutions, customs, and various arts, by which orators were formed in the time of the republic. 35. The defects and vices in the new system of education. In this part of the dialogue the sequel of Messala's discourse is lost, with the whole of what was said by Secundus, and the beginning of the remarks of Maternus. 36. Eloquence flourishes most in times of public tumult; the crimes of turbulent citizens supply the orator with his best materials. 37. In the time of the republic, oratorical talents were necessary qualifications, and without them no man was deemed worthy of being advanced to the magistracy. 38. The Roman orators were not confined in point of time; they might extend their speeches to what length they thought proper, and could even adjourn; Pompey abridged the liberty of speech, and limited the time. 39. The very dress of the advocates under the emperors was prejudicial to eloquence. 40. True eloquence springs from the vices of men, and never was known to exist under a calm and settled government. 41. Eloquence changes with the times; every age has its own peculiar advantages, and invidious comparisons are unnecessary. 42. Conclusion of the dialogue. V.

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1. Juste Fabi. L. Fabius Justus, consul A. D. 111. In the imperial times the *nomen* (Fabius) is often either omitted or follows as something subordinate. 86

6. Causidici, *pleaders;* from *causa* and *dico;* often used in a contemptuous sense. **Diserti** (*the eloquent*) is subject.

9. Ut — sit is added to show one of the alternatives of **pondus**

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86 **excipere: ut aut male existimandum sit** = *since we must either think meanly.*

10. Sit. Words in italics are the additions of various editors, and are intended to supply defects in the MSS. *Sit* is added by Lipsius. **Idem adsequi,** *sc. quod antiqui adsecuti sunt.*

11. Judiciis, *sc.* nostris. **12. Proferenda,** *sc.* esset.

13. Ut nostris temporibus = *as our times go,* or as our times consider them. The expression is elliptical: ut *disertissimi existimantur* nostris temporibus. The words are intended to be disparaging.

87 **2. Ut persequar,** *that I may pursue* or follow closely.

3. Subtiliter, *finely,* exquisitely. **Graviter,** *forcibly.*

5. Dum — redderent, *while each expressed the mould* (or natural bent) *both of his mind and of his character.*

6. Isdem numeris, *with the same elegance and melody of style;* or with the same rhythmical flow of the sentences. Ernesti thinks the words mean, *in the same order;* but Tacitus adds, *servato ordine disputationis.* **Isdem** = iisdem.

7. Rationibus, *arguments.*

10. Ingeniis, *the genius;* the oratorical talents. The word is used five times in this chapter in various senses.

11. Postero die quam, *on the day after.* **Quam,** a conjunction (= *than*), follows **postero,** because the latter word has the force of a comparative. **Curiatius Maternus.** Nothing certain is known of him except what we learn from the dialogue. Some believe him to be the Maternus who, we are informed by Dion Cassius (lxvii. 12), was put to death by Domitian, on account of his too great freedom of speech. **Catonem,** *i. e.* his tragedy entitled "Cato."

16. Marcus Aper, a native of Gaul, who rose by his eloquence to the rank of quaestor, tribune, and praetor, successively. **Julius Secundus,** a friend of Quintilian, who mentions the elegance of his oratory.

17. Ingenia, *men of genius,* men of talent. **Fori nostri,** nearly equivalent to *of our bar.* **Quos utrosque,** *both of whom.*

19. Studiorum, *for their pursuits,* for their studies.

20. Fabulas, *conversations,* with other learned men.

21. Arcana semotae dictionis, *the privacy of their familiar discourse.* **Semotae** means here withdrawn from public view, beyond the reach of others' ears. **Penitus exciperem,** *I might thoroughly learn,* lit. catch up. **Promptum,** *an easy,* ready.

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24. Institutione, *by education.* 87

25. Purus, *pure,* without admixture of foreign or provincial words or style. **Pressus,** *terse.* **In — erat** = *as far as sufficed,* i. e. for any given occasion.

2. Alienarum artium may be rendered *of other accomplishments;* 88 but **alienarum** refers to accomplishments not directly concerned with oratory, *e. g.* geometry, music, etc.

7. Quo minus ames = *from loving.*

9. Retractares, *you might retouch* or revise it. **Sublatis,** *sc.* iis.

11. Securiorem, *more secure* against the attacks of malignant critics and the common talk of the envious.

12. Leges, *you shall read.* **Sibi,** *to himself,* and not to his fears of the powerful.

14. Thyestes. An oft recurring subject of tragedy.

15. Formavi, *have mapped out.*

19. Adeo, *to such a degree.*

20. Quo minus consumas = *that you spend.*

23. Clientelae. Distinguished Romans were sometimes the patroni of states and cities, which were in a certain relation of subjection or friendship to Rome. **Municipiorum,** *free towns,* generally in Italy, governed by their own laws, and enjoying the rights of Roman citizens, including (except in a few cases) the right of voting.

25. Domitium, the title of another of his tragedies. **Id est** (si).

26. Nostras and **Romana** are equivalent here. Notice that **historias** (*histories* or narratives of facts) is opposed to **fabulis,** which refers especially to fictitious narratives.

3. Desidiam advocationum, *my discontinuance of the duties of* 89 *the advocate.*

7. Quod — opto = *what I have long wished for.* "The present tense is often used of that which has endured for some time, and still continues."

9. Angustiis, *the narrow field,* the limited range. **Superque,** *and more than enough.*

15. Alteram partem, *that one party* to the dispute.

17. Contubernii, *of our living together,* possibly under the same roof.

18. Saleium Bassum, a Roman epic poet, contemporary with Statius. We have not even a fragment acknowledged as his production. He is commended by Quintilian.

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89 **20. Locupletiorem,** *i. e.* quam Bassum, who, though very poor, could furnish strong arguments in defence of poets and poetry.

21. Securus, *at ease,* unconcerned; for I shall not attack him.

23. Causas agere, *conduct causes,* as counsel or advocate. **Quatenus,** *since.*

25. Plurium, *i. e.* of those *qui poetae nascuntur;* whereas Maternus, being rather an orator than a poet, ought not to be defended on the merits of poets.

27. Parĕre, *from pario.*

28. Complecti provincias, *i. e.* so as to become their **patronus,** their patron and protector. **Studium,** *the pursuit,* which has just been mentioned.

90 **4. Notitiam,** *celebrity (throughout).*

8. Alienis, *to strangers.*

9. Ultro, *actually.* **Ipse,** *i. e.* tu ipse.

10. Potentia ac potestate, *with efficacy and power.* The first term implies a general command of means, which are infallibly effective in fulfilling every purpose which the agent forms. **Potestas** does not denote power in general, but such a degree of it as enables the agent to produce a given effect. If below what it should be, it fails in producing the effect; and it is not understood, as in **potentia,** that there should ever be any superfluous force, so as to create terror or admiration. *Hill,* pp. 604–5.

12. Perfugio et tutela, *in the shelter and protection.*

13. Proprium, *your own.* **Increpuit,** *has sounded the alarm.*

15. Praesidium, *a defence;* hence, *quo propugnare possis.* **Telum,** *an offensive weapon;* hence, *quo incessere possis.* **Simul ac** = *at once — and.*

16. In judicio. He alludes to the court of the centumviri, who resembled other judices in this respect, that they decided cases under the authority of a magistratus. From each of the 35 tribes were chosen three members, and consequently the whole number would be 105; but they were called, in round numbers, the hundred men. This collegium seems to have been divided into four parts, each of which sometimes sat by itself. The jurisdiction of this court was chiefly limited to civil matters; its functions, however, are not well ascertained. *Dict. Antiqq.*

18. Eprius Marcellus rose by his oratorical talents to distinction at Rome in the reigns of Claudius, Nero, and Vespasian. His contest with Helvidius Priscus in the senate, A. D. 70, when the mode of appointing the delegates to Vespasian in Egypt was debated, is sketched by Tacitus, *Hist.* IV. 6–8. *Dict. Biog.*

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20. Ejus modi = *such.* A genitive of quality. 90

2. Orbitati, *to one's childlessness.* Flatterers courted the child- 91
less rich in the hope of being made their heirs.

3. Officii — administrationi, *to the administration of some office,* as a tribute to official dignity. This meaning of **officium** is limited chiefly to the times of the emperors. In earlier Latin, the words might mean *for the performance of some service.* Cf. Agric. 19.

4. Ipsos—orbos, *nay rather, but that even the childless.* **Immo** generally begins a clause or sentence, and rarely follows other words.

6. Ullane. Notice that the **a**, though short, receives the accent, on account of the enclitic **ne.**

8. Veteres et senes, *old and venerable,* though the words are nearly synonymous. **Vetus** means, *that has existed a long time;* **senex** is simply *old:* i. e. **vetus** directly expresses what **senex** only implies.

9. Subnixos, lit. *supported;* it may be rendered, *enjoying.*

11. Togatorum, *of civilians.* **Comitatus et egressus.** The patronus and the popular orator loved to be accompanied on public occasions by a numerous retinue.

14. Coire populum (to see), *the people assemble.*

16. Vulgata, *the generally known,* is opposed to **tantum — nota.**

19. Profert, *sc.* orator. **Est — constantia,** *there is, as of his own delivery, so of his own joy, a certain weight and constancy;* i. e. the pleasurable feelings of the orator are as great and as durable as the force of his words and the effect produced by them.

21. Curam, *effort;* that on which care has been bestowed.

22. Commendat, *lends a favor to,* renders successful.

1. Latus clavus, *the purple band.* The latus clavus was a broad 92
purple band, extending perpendicularly from the neck down the centre of the tunica. It was a distinctive badge of the senatorian order, and hence it is used to signify the senatorial dignity. *Dict. Antiqq.*

2. Homo novus, *a new man,* that is, a plebeian who first attained a curule office, and was the founder of his family's nobilitas. *Dict. Antiqq.* **Civitate natus.** Whether Secundus was a native of Gaul or of Britain, or of either, is unknown. That he passed some time in Britain is certain from chap. 17.

6. Centumviros. See note, line 16, page 90.

8. Libertos, who were not unfrequently advanced to positions of honor and influence. **Procuratores,** who had charge of the imperial revenues in the provinces.

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92 **11. Nec — venit,** *is neither conferred by letters patent nor comes by favor,* i. e. which neither imperial authority nor favor can bestow.

13–16. Qui — sui. Here the MSS. are faulty, and it is probable that something has dropped from the text. We follow Halm, except that we omit **et** before **in urbe,** to make the sentence readable. **Modo,** *only.*

18. Tunicatus, *clad with tunics,* and not with the toga; and hence alluding to the poorer classes.

20. Jam auditos, *them already heard of.*

23. Ausim, *I would even venture.* An old form of the perfect subjunctive. See the grammars.

24. Crispum Vibium, a Roman orator of great wealth and influence. Some fragments of his orations are preserved in Quintilian. *Dict. Biog.* **Obliteratis,** *forgotten.*

26. Notos is the addition of Ursinus.

28. Nec — praestat. The passage is differently read by different editors. We follow Brotier. **Hoc,** *i. e.* their world-wide reputation. **Illi alterive,** *to the one or to the other.* **Ter — sestertium,** *i. e.* ter milies centena milia sestertium (= sestertiorum), *three hundred million sesterces,* about $12,000,000. See C. 307, 2; H. 647, 4; A. 379; Z. § 873.

93 **2. Sed** is added by Lipsius.

4. Ad quam usque fortunam, *to what a pitch of fortune.*

5. Haec, ut supra dixi, in chapter 6.

6. Proxima, *sc.* exempla sunt.

8. Nati sunt, *sc.* Marcellus et Vibius. **Quoque** = et quo.

9. Angustiae rerum, *the straitened circumstances.* **Nascentes,** *at their birth.*

10. Clariora et illustriora. The use of synonyms in pairs in this speech of Aper is noteworthy; *e. g.,* numen et caelestis vis; sordidius et abjectius; paupertas et angustiae rerum; clariora et illustriora; divitiae et opes, etc.

12. Substantia facultatum = *fortune,* material wealth.

13. Moribus, *in point of character.* **Alter,** *one of them,* but which is not known. **Habitu,** *in the general appearance,* in the physical conformation.

16. Caesaris, *i. e.* Vespasian, as we learn farther on. **Agunt feruntque cuncta,** *they drive and carry off everything.* The expression is used by other writers only in reference to the violence of plunderers or robbers, who *drive off* cattle, and *carry away*

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booty. It is introduced here to describe the great influence of 93
these orators, who, like those of Athens, "wielded at will that fierce democracy."

18. **Patientissimus veri.** Such truths as were developed by literary men, to whom Vespasian devoted much time. Plin. Ep. III., 5.

20. **Ipsi promptum sit,** *it is easy for him.*

22. **Quod — acceperint,** *i. e.* eloquence.

24. **Tanta,** *sc.* bona, *so great advantages,* or natural endowments. **Imagines.** These images were figures with painted masks of wax, made to resemble the persons whom they represented. They were kept in the **Atrium** of the house, accompanied with **tituli,** or names of distinction which the deceased had acquired. Tituli were also inscribed on the bases of statues, etc.

1. **Ineunte adolescentia,** *the commencement of their youth.* The 94
period of adolescentia extended from the fifteenth to the thirtieth year.

6. **Utilitates alunt,** *foster advantages.*

9. **Cui bono est** = *who is benefited;* lit. to whom is it for an advantage. **Cui** does not agree with bono; the construction is that of two datives. The expression is often incorrectly quoted, as if it meant, "for what good?"

10. **Agamemnon aut Jason,** who were the subjects of tragedy. **Apud te** = *in your works* or writings.

12. **Poetam — vatem.** The *vates* or prophet was directly inspired; and as the *poeta* was also moved by a sort of inspiration, he loved to hear himself called by the more august name *vates.*

13. **Deducit,** *conducts,* especially to the forum and thence home, as a mark of respect. So **prosequitur,** *accompanies,* especially to the gates of the city.

14. **Nempe,** *why* (exclamatory, not interrogative); in fact.

17. **Ut — facias,** *that you may compose verses for him.*

21. **Excudit et elucubravit.** These words are intended to express severe and long continued toil. **Ultro,** *actually.* **Ambire,** *to solicit.* We have here a lively description of the means adopted by the *literati* of the time of bringing themselves and their productions into notice.

24. **Libellos,** *programmes,* or notices or notes of invitation. **Et ut,** *and although.*

26. **Aut alterum diem,** *or two days.*

27. **In — praecepta,** *anticipated in the green blade or blossom;* and this explains why **ad nullam — frugem.**

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95 4. **Quingenta sestertia,** *five hundred thousand sesterces,* about $20,000. Observe that **sestertia** is the plural of **sestertium** = 1000 sesterces.

6. **Mereri,** *sc.* eum, *i. e.* Bassum.

7. **Si — exigat.** These words seem to have little force in their present position; whereas, if they immediately followed **mereri,** they would be full of meaning. Render **exigat,** *allowed,* permitted.

14. **Opinio,** *reputation.* **Serviunt,** *they are devoted.*

19. **Quotus quisque,** *how few.* **Adeo,** *even.*

96 2. **Cothurnum vestrum** = *your tragedies,* because the shoe or buskin of the tragedian was called cothurnus.

6. **Ceteris — studiis.** While **ceteris** is not really redundant, its omission would have left the sense perfectly clear: *the other pursuits of arts* (that are) *different;* or, simply, the pursuits of other arts.

7. **Cum natura tua,** *although your natural bent.* **Ferat,** *leads.*

10. **Ludicras artes,** *i. e.* those whose sole object is to afford amusement, as dancing, music, etc.

11. **Honestum,** *respectable.* **Nicostrati,** a native of Cilicia. He was renowned for his strength and prowess, and at one of the Olympic festivals gained the prize on the same day in the wrestling match and the pancratium (which included both wrestling and boxing). *Dict. Biog.*

14. **Auditoriis,** in which poets recited their productions.

16. **Illud** is defined by the clause **tamquam — studium,** *as if the occupations of poets were less liable to give offence than that of orators.*

21. **Advocationis** = *of one's duty as counsel.*

23. **Personam notabilem,** i. e. Cato, the uncompromising defender of liberty.

25. **Hinc — ferri.** The text is corrupt here, and a portion of it is undoubtedly wanting. The sense is: *that from hence* (i. e. the inculcation of liberal sentiments) results *unbounded assent* (to the truths taught), *that these* (sentiments) *are especially commended in the recitation halls themselves, and are soon noised abroad by the common talk of all.* **Tolle igitur,** *away, then, with.*

27. **Quietis — excusationem,** referring to what is said in lines 17 and 18: minus obnoxium — studium.

97 1. **In quibus expressis** = *in the expression of which.* The perfect participle is not unfrequently equivalent to a verbal noun in *io.*

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6. **Intento ore,** *with an earnest manner of expression.* **Intento** 97
is just the opposite of **remissus,** *mildly.* **Parantem** is Halm's reading. The MSS. vary.

7. **Non minus diu,** *i. e.* in just as long a speech.

8. **Fore — prosterneret.** These are the words of the author of the dialogue, not those of Maternus.

14. **Et ingredi,** *even to attain to.*

15. **In Nerone.** It seems better to take these words in the sense usual in such constructions, as indicating the title of one of the tragedies of Maternus. Some take them as equivalent to *sub Nerone,* in the time of Nero. **Studiorum sacra,** *the sanctity of our vocation,* as poets.

16. **Vatinii,** one of the vilest and most hateful creatures of Nero's court, equally deformed in body and in mind. He obtained great power and wealth by accusing the most distinguished men in the state. *Dict. Biog.*

21. **Aera,** *bronze statues.*

23. **Hucusque** (huc + usque), *thus far,* hitherto.

26. **Secretum ipsum,** *the retirement itself.*

2. **Inter sordes,** *amid the soiled garments.* This is said in 98
allusion to the custom of accused persons, when undergoing trial, wearing old and soiled clothing, with a view to exciting pity in their behalf.

3. **Innocentia,** *i. e.* more free from crime than the city. An adjective.

4. **Sacris,** *i. e.* consecrated to the muses, or to some deity. **Haec — primordia,** *i. e.* the first eloquence was the eloquence of poetry.

5. **Penetralia,** *the sanctuary* of eloquence. **Habitu cultuque,** *garb and attire.*

7. **Pectora,** of the early bards. **Influxit,** *sc.* eloquentia. **Sic — loquebantur.** It is well known that the most ancient oracles were delivered in verse.

8. **Sanguinantis eloquentiae,** of the informers in the imperial times, who caused the death of many innocent victims.

10. **More nostro,** *i. e.* more poetarum.

13. **Male admissa,** *deeds wickedly perpetrated.*

14. **Nec ullis,** *sc.* quam poetis.

17. **Neminem,** *sc.* fuisse, depending on **accepimus.**

20. **Composita,** *invented.* **Certe,** *at least.*

23. **Lysiae aut Hyperidis.** Lysias and Hyperides, Athenian orators.

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98 **25. Asinii.** Asinius Pollio, contemporary with Virgil.

26. Messalae. Corvinus Messala, an orator contemporary with Cicero.

27. Varii. L. Varius Rufus, a distinguished poet of the Augustan age, the friend of Virgil and Horace. Both the tragedies mentioned are lost.

99 **1. Felix contubernium,** *the happy communion* of poets in private life. **Timuerim,** *I shall (not) fear.* Subjunctive of modesty.

5. Gratia, ablative. **Caruit,** *sc.* Virgilius.

8. Universus, *in a body.* **Forte** goes with **praesentem.**

10. Secundus Pomponius was a distinguished poet in the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. It was by his tragedies that he obtained the greatest celebrity. **Afro Domitio.** Domitius Afer was one of the most celebrated orators of Rome. He died A. D. 60. *Dict. Biog.*

12. Crispus Vibius and **Marcellus Eprius,** previously mentioned.

15. Quibus praestant, *i. e.* whose superiors they are. **Indignantur,** probably on account of the excessive fees demanded of them.

17. Satis servi, *quite slaves.*

18. Quae — est, *what is this power of theirs at the most?* **Tantum posse,** *to be as powerful.*

19. Dulces Musae. See Virgil. Georg. II. 475.

22. Nec ultra experiar, *nor may I have any more experience with.*

23. Lubricum, *deceitful.* **Famam pallentem,** *pale fame,* i. e. fame liable to wane; or, fame acquired only by cares and anxieties; either sense harmonizes with the context. **Trepidus** = *with ceaseless unrest.*

24. Fremitus salutantium. This refers to the early morning calls of clients on their patronus. **Excitet,** *sc.* e somno.

25. Pro pignore, *as a pledge* of security, i. e. by making the emperor co-heir. See note to line 12, page 78.

27. Quandoque = et quando.

28. Statuar tumulo, *may I be placed on my sepulchre,* i. e. may a statue of me be placed, etc.

100 **4. Instinctus,** *inspired,* "ardore quodam poetico." **Vipstanus Messala** was legionary tribune in Vespasian's army, A. D. 70. **Intentione,** *earnestness.*

7. Secretum, *a private.* **Tractantibus,** *sc.* vobis.

9. Minime, *not at all.* **Adeo,** *even.*

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11. Accuratissimus, *the very elaborate.* 100

14. Ut — decebat, *i. e.* in language both bold and poetical, audentior — oratio. **Poetarum** (*sc.* orationi), *that of poets.*

18. Oratores, *the orators.* **Declamatorio studio,** *in the practice of declamation* on selected subjects; as was usual in the schools of the rhetoricians. **Ejus modi** = *such.*

25. Non — te, *that no less satisfaction is felt in you.* **Julii Asiatici.** Julius Asiaticus, who joined Vindex in his revolt against Nero.

27. Scholasticis controversiis, *i. e.* the discussions and declamations of the schools of the rhetoricians. What Messala here says of Aper must be taken in an ironical sense, as appears from the beginning of the next chapter.

7. Fratris tui. Aquilius Regulus, who "was more of a raver 101 than an orator." V.

8. Prae, *in comparison with.* The true reading here is uncertain. Halm supplies *prae.* **Eo,** *on this account.*

9. Opinionem, *the reputation,* the opinion which others have of you.

16. Hujus differentiae, between the ancient orators and those of his own time.

19. Graiis accidisse, *i. e.* that there is the same difference between the ancient and the more recent Greek orators.

20. Sacerdos Nicetes, a Greek rhetorician, born at Smyrna.

22. Afer. Domitius Afer, before mentioned, and Julius Africanus; whom Quintilian considered the best orators he had heard.

26. Movisti, *you have started.*

6. Pro duobus, *for both,* Secundus and Aper.

7. Ego et Secundus. Notice the order, which accords with 102 Roman custom.

10. Manifestus est. The personal construction, in imitation of the Greek, instead of the impersonal (*manifestum est*), which is more usual in Latin.

11. In contrarium, *for the opposite side,* for the negative.

16. Significatione, *expression.*

18. Versantur = *present themselves.*

19. Mille — annis. According to Aper, then, the capture of Troy must have taken place more than 1200 years B. C.

23. Ita tamen, *yet so* = but with this limitation.

24. Trecentos. The MSS. have ccc, a manifest error for cccc.

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102 Demosthenes died 322 B. C. Hence some editors read *quadringentos.*

27. Referas = *you compare,* refer to for comparison.

28. Hujus aevi, the interval from Nestor to Tacitus. **Perquam** = per quam, *extremely.*

103 2. **Hortensio,** the title of one of the lost works of Cicero. **Magnus annus.** This *great year,* which is also called Platonicus, was, in the view of the ancients, that vast period to be completed when all the heavenly bodies should occupy the same relative positions as at the beginning of the world. Its length was variously estimated by ancient astronomers. The year in question has reference to the precession of the equinoxes, which causes the pole of the equator to revolve around the pole of the ecliptic. The greater precision of modern astronomy fixes the period at 25,800 years. Compare Virgil, Ecl. iv. 12.

3. Quae — est, *which exists at any particular time.* Notice the somewhat rare expression **cum maxime** (cummaxime, quummaxime), *particularly, pre-eminently.*

8. The addition of **fere** was quite unnecessary; in the case supposed Demosthenes lived in about the middle of the month, which would contain nearly 1080 solar years.

11. Menenium Agrippam, consul in B. C. 502. His intercession with the plebs on the occasion of their secession, is related by Livy, II. 32.

17. Tiro libertus. M. Tullius Tiro was the freedman and pupil of Cicero, to whom he was an object of the most devoted friendship and tender affection. He appears to have been a man of very amiable disposition and highly cultivated intellect. He was not only the amanuensis of the orator, and his assistant in literary labor, but was himself an author of no mean reputation, and notices of several works from his pen have been preserved by ancient writers. To him, it is more than probable, is due the preservation, in their collective form, of the works of his illustrious patron. *Dict. Biog.* **Septimo** (die ante) **idus,** *December* 7th.

18. Decembres is the addition of Lipsius.

20. Statue, *set down,* with the view of adding.

22. Gai or Caii. Caligula.

24. Longum annum. From the accession of Galba to that of Vespasian was 387 days.

25. Sextam stationem = *the sixth year.* "Imperator tamquam custos civitatis in excubiis positus cogitatur. Sic singulos imperii annos *stationes* appellare licet." Ri.

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26. Centum et viginti, the round number. The sum is 118 years. The sixth year of Vespasian's reign corresponds to A. D. 75. 103

4. Armatus, *i. e.* then old enough to be a soldier. 104

8. Congiario, *distribution of money;* originally, of food, *congius* denoting a certain measure.

13. Saeculum, *a generation*, usually of 33⅓ years; but here its measure is *centum et viginti anni.*

15. Aures, *the hearers*, auditors.

18. Temporibus, *for their times.* **In medio** = *before us.*

21. A block of marble may be **horridus**, rough with jagged points; **impolitus**, unpolished; **rudis**, unhewn, unwrought; **informis**, not reduced to form or symmetry: and so were the orations of these men.

25. Ante praedixero, *I shall have first premised.* **Mutari — dicendi.** A truth which has been considerably expanded by the researches of modern philology. Language itself is a growth, and has its periods of bloom and decay; it receives a characteristic impress according to the development of ideas and the changing forms of civilization.

28. Distinctior, *more pointed*, with distinctions more clearly drawn; **urbanior**, *more elegant*, more like a town-bred man.

6. Statim, *at once*, i. e. on the discovery of the difference. 105

9. Appium Caecum, whose eloquence is extolled by Livy. He is better known as having commenced the Appian Way, and as having dissuaded the senate from making peace with Pyrrhus.

11. Satis pressus, *terse enough.* **Supra modum** = *immoderately*, excessively.

12. Parum Atticus, *not Attic enough*, not like the Athenian orators. Attici pressi et integri, Asiani inflati et inanes. Quint. xii. 10, 16.

14. Missas epistolas. The context shows that **missas** is a participle, and **epistolas** the object of **legistis.**

16. Otiosum, *careless;* lit. calm, *i. e.* unconcerned, careless. **Dijunctum**, *disjointed.*

17. Male audisse, *was ill spoken of.*

18. Solutum, *diffuse.* **Fractum atque elumbem** has the general sense of *weak and powerless;* but the literal meaning of the words is more forcible.

23. Quatenus, *as*, since. The conclusion to this sentence begins with **non infirmitate, etc.** The true reading of a portion of the passage is, however, quite uncertain. We follow Halm.

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106 2. **Diversitate aurium,** *i. e.* a different class of hearers.

4. **Impeditissimarum,** *of the most cumbersome.*

7. **Alte repetita series,** *a far-fetched chain.*

9. **Hermagorae.** Hermagoras of Temnos, a distinguished Greek rhetorician of the time of Cicero. He devoted particular attention to what is called the *invention,* and made a peculiar division of the parts of an oration. *Dict. Biog.*

10. **Apollodori.** Apollodorus, of Pergamus, a Greek rhetorician. Augustus was one of his pupils. **Quod si,** *and if.*

11. **Odoratus** = *to have a smattering of.*

12. **Locum aliquem,** *some topic.*

15. **Placita,** *the dogmas,* tenets, or opinions.

17. **Cortina,** here *the circle of hearers.* **Certe,** *at least.*

19. **Exquisitis,** *carefully chosen.* **Est,** *has.*

22. **Nec — tempora,** *i. e.* for hearing causes; but they themselves appoint (**constituunt**) the times.

24. **Ultro,** *actually.* **Alio** = *to other matters,* or to another part of the subject.

107 1. **In Verrem libros.** Cicero's famous orations against Verres. **Exspectabit,** *i. e.* will have patience to read through.

2. **De exceptione.** The exception of the defendant to the plaintiff's statements. **Formula.** In judicial proceedings, technical phraseology, or a prescribed form of words.

3. **M. Tullio.** Cicero's oration for M. Tullius is lost. That for Caecina is extant.

6. **Corruptus,** *bribed,* i. e. enticed or allured.

7. **Adsistentium,** *of by-standers.* **Adfluens** = *the casual.*

9. **Laetitiam,** *sprightliness.* **Impexam,** *unpolished,* unadorned.

11. Q. Roscius was the most celebrated comic actor at Rome, contemporary with Cicero. L. Ambivius Turpio was a celebrated actor in the time of Terence, in most of whose plays he acted.

12. **Et,** *even* when. **In — positi,** to be forged and rounded into shape. An odd but forcible figure.

16. **Tradunt in vicem,** *they impart to each other* what they have learned. **Scribunt,** to their friends. This is implied by the use of **in** with the following accusatives.

17. **Sensus aliquis,** *some thought.* **Sensus** is the thought as it is conceived in the mind; **sententia** is the *expression* of it in language.

20. **Accius** and **Pacuvius** were writers of tragedy and comedy in the ante-classical period. Some fragments of their writings still remain.

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3. **Unum de populo.** Cf. Cic. pro Archia, 10: *malus poeta de populo.* **Non — memorabo.** The words in italics are supplied by Ritter, to remedy a defect in the MSS., which exhibit much variety and confusion here. 108

5. **Valetudinario,** *infirmary,* home for invalids, who are the admirers of the ancients. **Haec — maciem,** *i. e.* discourse without elegance and embellishment.

9. **Calvi,** *sc.* oratiunculas.

11. **Accusationes,** *sc.* Calvi. "**In Vatinium**" is their title.

17. **Caelianis orationibus,** of M. Caelius (Coelius) Rufus, contemporary with Cicero.

22. **Ex ea parte,** *in that respect.* **Sane,** *certainly,* indeed.

26. **Tam** (C. Caesarem occupationibus suis relinquamus) **hercule quam,** etc.

1. **Caesaris,** *sc.* orationem. Both the orations named are lost. 109

5. **Bibliothecas,** both public and private. **Rettulerunt,** *i. e.* caused them to be placed.

7. **Propioribus,** *i. e.* in times nearer to us, *later.*

14. **Exsurgit toris.** The subject is **sanguis,** and though the expression is perfectly intelligible, the figure is faulty. **Corvinum.** M. Corvinus Messala, before mentioned. His eloquence is commended by Quintilian. Cf. chap. 17.

16. **Nec — stetit,** *it was not owing to himself.*

17. **Viderimus.** The text is faulty here, and the reading varies in different editions. It is the opinion of many editors that some words have dropped from the text. **In quantum,** *how far.*

18. **Suffecerit,** *i. e.* answered the calls of his judgment.

26. **Compositioni,** *in their arrangement* or collocation. **Locos,** *passages.*

27. **Sententias,** *expressions.* See note, line 17, page 107.

5. **Otiosus,** *indifferent,* easily allowing them. 110

7. **Lumine,** like the light in a picture, which, being rendered more intense by the shade, gives force and expression to the delineation. **Nihil excerpere,** *i. e.* there are no gems of thought which you can carry away with you. **Referre.** Cf. *referre domum:* cap. 20.

10. **Lautum,** whose wealth is seen in the elegance of his home and its appointments.

15. **Aurum et gemmae,** in various works of art. So in discourse, let there be luminous passages, studded with beauty, which shall bear repeated perusal.

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110 **17. Olentia,** *musty.* **Sensus,** *sentences* or periods.

19. In — annalium. He has in mind the dryness and dulness of the earlier Roman annalists.

20. Compositionem, *his arrangement,* or the disposition of words.

22. Rotam Fortunae. This and the other expressions quoted are from Cicero. The first is found in Cic. in Pison, c. 10. **Jus Verrinum,** a play of words: it may mean either *the justice of Verres;* or, *hog-broth* (verres = *a boar*). Cicero quotes the expression as common among the Sicilians. Cic. in Verr., lib. I. 46. Hence Aper's criticism is unduly severe.

24. Pro sententia, for or instead of the strong point in an opinion, at the conclusion of the sentence: *for an opinion.* "Consuetudo jam tenuit, ut mente concepta sensus vocaremus, lumina autem praecipueque in clausulis posita sententias." Quintil. 8, 5, 2. **Esse videatur;** *e. g.* in the oration pro lege Manilia it occurs ten times at the close of a period.

28. Versantur, *present themselves.*

111 **2. Aufidius Bassus,** an orator and historian, who lived under Augustus and Tiberius. No fragments of his compositions have been preserved. **M. Servilius Nonianus,** consul A. D. 35, was one of the most celebrated orators and historians of his time.

3. Sisennae. L. Cornelius Sisenna, a Roman annalist, born about 118 B. C., whom Cicero pronounces superior to any of his predecessors. **Varronis.** M. Terentius Varro, whose vast and varied erudition in almost every department of literature earned for him the title of the "most learned of the Romans," was born B. C. 116. He was the most voluminous of Roman authors, having composed no less than four hundred and ninety books.

4. Rhetorum — commentarios, *i. q.* oratorum nostrorum libros. Ri.

5. Calvi, who was thought by some to rival even Cicero.

10. Nimia is Halm's reading. Editors generally have *animi.*

12. Fortem, laetum, alacrem, *strong, sprightly, enthusiastic.* **Prope — ab,** *he is near to.*

18. Cultum, *grace,* embellishment, in the disposition of them.

21. Sic exprimitis, *you so give expression to.*

112 **7. A vestris philosophis.** Sic loquitur qui non in urbe sed ex Gallia ortus est; dicit Academicos. Ri.

8. Celebrato, *practised.*

12. Annos is the subject of **effici.**

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13. **Ratio,** *a computation,* reckoning. See chap. 17. 112

16. **Nominis,** *i. e.* in regard to the term *antiquus.*

24. **Nedum,** *much more.*

25. **Quo modo** = *just as.* **Primae,** *the first place, sc.* partes.

27. **Lycurgus,** an Attic orator, born at Athens about 396 B. C. His life is written by Plutarch. Only one of his orations and some fragments remain.

5. **Adstrictior,** *more condensed.* **Numerosior,** *more rhythmical,* 113
hence, more harmonious.

9. **Ferunt,** *exhibit.*

18. **Brutum.** Adolescentulus Tacitus libertatis vindicem magnopere veneratur. Ri.

21. **C. Laelium.** C. Laelius, whose intimacy with the younger Scipio Africanus obtained an imperishable monument in Cicero's treatise, "Laelius sive de Amicitia," was born about 185 B. C. In his own age he was the model, and in history he is the representative of the Greek culture which sprang up rapidly at Rome in the seventh century of the city. *Dict. Biog.*

22. **Non destitit,** *sc.* Aper.

23. **Non exigit,** *it* (Aper's attack) *does not call for.*

1. **Calamistros,** *the affected elegance.* **Tinnitus,** *the jingling* 114
sentences. Gallio was a rhetorician contemporary with Ovid.

4. **Cultus,** *style,* the garb of discourse.

7. **Histrionales,** *of stage-players.* The word is probably used only by Tacitus.

9. **Cantari,** on account of the extravagant modulation of the voice affected by the declaimers; **saltari,** on account of their extravagant gestures.

11. **Quibusdam,** *among some;* the dative depends on **oritur.** The true reading here is uncertain.

17. **Plus — sanguinis,** *i. e.* he had more violence than force; he was rather violent than forcible.

20. **Incompositus,** *immethodical.* **Dejectus,** *beaten back,* or dislodged from his position; a military term.

25. **Sustinuit,** *ventured.* The word occurs in this sense chiefly in negative object-clauses.

2. **Sequentium,** *of their followers* or successors, *sc. oratorum.* 115

3. **In publicum,** *in general;* nearly equivalent to **in commune.**

5. **Quotus quisque,** *how few.*

7. **Gabinianum,** a Roman rhetorician, who taught rhetoric in Gaul in the time of Vespasian. Little else is known of him.

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115 **11. Appara te.** This is Halm's reading, and that of the MSS. Puteolanus edited *appropera,* and editors generally follow him.

21. Citra damnum adfectus, *without prejudice to good-will,* without marring friendly feelings.

116 **1. In medium** = *before you;* or, *to view.*

4. Praecipientium, *of instructors;* among whom was the Graecula ancilla (chap. 29); hence the use of the participle instead of *praeceptorum* (masculine).

7. Vestra (mala), *i. e.* of you, who are Roman provincials, and better acquainted with those evils than I.

11. Formandos, *i. e.* in giving them such a full and symmetrical education, as well physical as intellectual, as shall tend to develop character in them.

12. Cuique. The dative depends on **educabatur.**

15. Tueri domum, *to watch over her home.* **Inservire,** *to be devoted to.*

22. Corneliam, the mother of the Gracchi. **Aureliam,** the mother of Julius Caesar. **Atiam,** the mother of Augustus, and sister of Julius Caesar.

24. Praefuisse, *superintended.* **Principes,** *noble.*

117 **1. Inclinasset,** *sc.* natura unius cujusque.

8. Pensi habet, *does (any one) care.* **Pensi** is genitive of value. **Infante domino,** *i. e.* a child that will one day be their master.

12. Sui — contemptus, *a contempt for what concerns themselves and others.*

14. Histrionalis favor, *a fondness for stage-players.*

16. Studia, *a predilection,* or passion for.

22. Ingenii experimento, *from any proof of their ability.* **Ambitione,** *by a round.* **Illecebris,** *by the alluring arts.*

28. Rhetoras. Greek form of the accusative plural.

118 **1. Quando** is interrogative; and so is **quam** (in **quamque**); both the indirect questions depend on **statim dicturus.**

2. Quamque nullam, etc., *and what authority it had not, etc.*

3. Statim dicturus, *intending to state at the outset.* He states both facts, however, no earlier than in chap. 35. **Referam,** *sc.* ut.

8. Brutus inscribitur, or, "De Claris Oratoribus."

12. Q. Mucium. Q. Mucius Scaevola, the most learned lawyer of his time. **Philonem Academicum,** *Philo the Academic,* a native of Larissa. He settled in Rome, where he became a teacher of philosophy and rhetoric. **Diodotum Stoicum,** *Diodotus the*

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Stoic, who lived for many years at Rome, in the house of Cicero, 118
to whom he left a property of about 100,000 sesterces.

15. **Contigerat.** The indicative, here in oratio obliqua, marks the clause as inserted by the writer, or, at least, as endorsed by him.

19. **Grammaticae**, which, in its wider sense, included also literature, criticism, and philology.

21. **Moralis partis** (*sc.* philosophiae) = *of moral philosophy.* Cicero first uses the word *moralis:* Nos eam partem philosophiae, de moribus appellare solemus: sed decet augentem linguam Latinam nominare moralem. *De Fato*, 1.

26. **Sicut ceterarum rerum**: for all other things, and eloquence itself, may be the subjects of eloquence; while the range of other pursuits is comparatively circumscribed.

1. **Pro — rerum,** *befitting the dignity of the subjects.* 119

3. **Hoc,** namely, that an orator should be able to speak in the manner described at the close of the last chapter.

9. **Subjecta materia,** *the subject-matter submitted.*

12. **In — misceantur,** *are mingled together.*

16. **Illa** = *the following advantages.*

20. **Motibus,** *impulses* or emotions. **Concitetur,** *sc.* misericordia.

21. **Cupidos,** *those well disposed to him.*

23. **Dicendum habuerit,** *he shall have to speak.* This use of the gerund indicates an idiom unknown to writers of the golden age. See Madvig, § 422, Obs. 2.

24. **Adhibebit manum,** *will apply his hand,* i. e. to the **venas animorum,** as a physician feels the pulse of his patient.

26. **Adstrictum et collectum,** *a concise and compact.* The words are nearly synonymous.

27. **Singula — concludens,** *at once concluding each argument,* somewhat in the syllogistic manner, without diffuse and varied illustrations of the subject.

1. **Aequalis,** *equable,* proceeding in a uniform and equable 120
manner.

2. **Sensibus,** *feelings;* the common way of thinking. **Oratio,** *style of discourse.*

3. **Peripateticis,** a school of philosophy founded by Aristotle, whose lectures in the Lyceum, at Athens, were attended by a large number of distinguished scholars out of all the Hellenic cities of Europe and Asia. His lectures on philosophy were delivered

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120 while walking up and down in the shady walks (περίπατοι) which surrounded the Lyceum.

5. **Locos,** *topics,* or the bases of arguments, τόποι, of which Aristotle has left eight books. **Academici,** or the Platonic school of philosophers. **Pugnacitatem**: hic enim mos erat patrius Academiae, adversari semper omnibus in disputando. *Cic. de Orat.,* I. 18.

6. **Epicuri,** the founder of the philosophical school named after him the Epicurean. His mode of living, notwithstanding the aspersions of comic poets and later philosophers, was simple, temperate, and cheerful. Though one of the most prolific of the ancient Greek writers, only a few fragments of his works remain. Metrodorus was his favorite pupil.

7. **Exclamationes,** a translation of the Greek ἀνακραυγάσματα, applied to the sententious dicta of Epicurus, no doubt somewhat contemptuously, by his opponents: "Da dem Epicur und seinen Schülern alle Beredsamkeit abgesprochen wird." P.

9. **Neque — artem**: our object is not to form a philosopher, who is one-sided, but an orator, who may borrow from philosophy whatever is worth borrowing. **Sapientem** = philosophum. **Stoicorum.** The school of the Stoics was founded by Zeno, who taught his doctrines in the porch called Stoa Poicele, whence the school derived its name. The reading **artem** is uncertain; other readings are *civem, civitatem.*

12. **Grammaticae,** *sc.* scientia. *Grammatica* is another reading.

17. **Nec — doceamur,** *i. e.* that varied learning is not essential to the orator, but that when occasion demands knowledge not immediately concerned with oratory, he may seek such knowledge from those skilled in it.

19. **Propriis,** *what is our own,* our own acquisitions.

22. **Aliud agentes,** lit. *doing another thing,* i. e. when not occupied with them. See the same expression in Agricola, cap. 43, and note to line 26, page 77.

26. **Numeros** = partes; in which sense it is frequently used, *e. g. liber omnibus numeris absolutus.* Plin. Ep. *Quid omnibus numeris praestantius?* Quint. **Isse** = ivisse.

121 4. **Quotidiani sermonis vitia.** From this we learn that Latin formed no exception to the general truth, that in languages possessing a literature, there is a marked difference between spoken and written language.

10. **Ut quae,** *so that what.*

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19. His verbis, in *Orator*, cap. 3. 121

21. Officinis is the word used by Cicero in the passage referred to, and was inserted in our text by Haase. Notice the fine contrast in **officinis** (*contracted workshops*) and **spatiis** (*the spacious fields*).

8. Quem ad modum = quemadmodum, *as*. **Scirint** = sciverint. 122

13. Usu is the addition of Tyrwhitt, and is approved by Hm. and He.

21. Tot tam res, *so many things so*.

22. Nisi ut, unless as, *i. e. unless in proportion as*. **Scientiae — usus.** The essentials, he says, are *knowledge, the habit of thinking, capability, practice.*

24. Rationem, *that the method* or rational process.

4. Domestica, not domestic, but *at home*. 123

7. Sectari, domo exeuntem; **prosequi**, tendentem in forum. Ri.

12. Constantiae, the self-possession that comes from knowledge and experience.

13. In media luce, and not in the schools of the rhetoricians.

15. Aut contrarie, *or absurdly;* in opposition to what has been or ought to be said.

16. Advocati, here nearly equivalent to *witnesses;* those who were called by the parties to a suit to aid them. In later Latin **advocatus** meant also *attorney, advocate.* In the strictly classical period the **patronus** spoke for his client.

19. Patronos. See preceding note.

25. Rudibus, *with foils;* lit. wooden swords or rods used in learning to fence.

27. Nec male, which is necessary to complete the sense, is the addition of Rudolphus Agricola, and is adopted by Hm., He., P., and commended by others.

1. In diversis subselliis, *on the opposite benches*, or the benches 124
occupied by the attorneys, witnesses, and partisans of the opposite party in trials.

2. Quin immo = *nay more;* the expression is strongly corroborative of the preceding remark. **Constantius — corroborari.** Because a reputation that is acknowledged even by our antagonists and rivals is quite certain to be built upon an enduring foundation.

13. Altero et vicesimo, *in the twenty-second.*

18. Scenam, here used contemptuously for *scholas.*

21. Ut ait Cicero, de Oratore, III. 24.

23. In (not found in the MSS.) is added by Schurzfleisch.

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124 **24. Utrumne.** The parts of this word were sometimes separated, but in later writers they are generally written as one word.

125 **2. Contrariae,** *inconsistent,* injudicious. **Nempe,** *that is to say,* namely.

3. Suasoriae. There are still extant one book of M. Annaeus Seneca's Suasoriae, and ten of his Controversiae. V.

7. Per fidem, an exclamation: "by my faith."

10. Vitiatarum electiones. A frequent subject for declamations in the schools was violated virgins, and the choice they made either to marry their ravishers or to have them put to death. V. **Pestilentiae remedia.** "*Responsa in pestilentia data ut virgines tres aut plures immolentur.*" Petron., c. 1. Similar evidences of this refinement of inanities are furnished by Quintilian.

13. Ventum est. After these words the MSS. notice a gap. One has, *hic multum deficit.* Another, *multum deficit in exemplaribus quae reperiuntur.* One Vatican has, *hic multum deficit;* another, *hic desunt sex pagellae.* Scholars do not agree as to the amount of the missing text. P. In Valpy's Tacitus, "From the text of Brotier, with his explanatory notes," a supplement of fourteen chapters fills the chasm. Of this supplement we have inserted in the text just enough to preserve a tolerable connection.

17. Umbratici, in the shade or seclusion of their schools, *secluded,* the opposite of *in media luce.* See note, line 13, page 123.

126 **2. Publicam rem** is the reverse of the established order of the words.

3. Cogitare. *Rem cogitant* habet codex Leidensis, ceteri *rem cogitare.* Sed temptare aliquid in loco truncato lubricum est. Ri.

5. Eadem ratio, *sc.* quae Demosthenis eloquentiam provexit.

8. Ea — fas erat. The present orators, he says, have attained all the results of eloquence attainable in a tranquil and undisturbed condition of the state.

9. Illa perturbatione, *from that disturbed condition* which often characterized the republic, and was often fomented by the rival orators.

10. Videbantur, *sc.* oratores antiqui.

11. Mixtis omnibus, lit. *all being mingled together,* which seems to mean, *all being embroiled* or *involved in perplexity.* "Wo Alles in Verwirrung aufging." Ri. **Moderatore uno,** *i. e.* without a controlling head, without an emperor.

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12. **Erranti,** *wandering,* i. e. like sheep without a shepherd, *sine moderatore.* **Persuaderi,** *sc.* eum sapere. 126

13. **Leges assiduae** ad populum latae et vel suasae vel dissuasae. Ri. **Populare nomen,** the name of friend of the people.

16. **Adsignatae — inimicitiae,** hereditary feuds.

25. **Clientelis,** *in their relation of patrons.*

3. **Quin immo,** *nay more.* 127

6. **Inviti — producerentur,** by the partisans or opponents of legislative measures.

7. **Censere,** *to give an opinion,* implying also to vote as a senator. **Nisi qui.** *Nisi quis* would have been more correct, according to Lipsius.

9. **Respondendum,** *to reply.* On this use of the gerund see note and reference, line 23, page 119.

10. **Judiciis** is the addition of Rudolphus Agricola. **Publicis,** that is, trials in which the populus were judices or jurors.

11. **Per tabellam** = *in writing.*

14. **Quo modo,** lit. in what manner = *as.* **Haberi** is the subject of *erat* understood.

16. **Rubore,** *by a feeling of self-respect.* Vox Tacito familiaris pro pudore. Ri.

18. **Necessitudines,** *the relationships,* more especially that of patronus and cliens, just referred to.

22. **Haec vetera,** *sc.* scripta vel acta.

23. **Cum maxime,** *particularly.* **Muciano,** a vigorous supporter of Vespasian. He was not only a general and a statesman, but an orator and a historian. He made a collection of the speeches of the republican period, which he arranged and published in eleven books of Acta and three of Epistolae.

7. **Formula,** a prescribed form of words in suits at law; we might say *a technicality.* **Interdicto** = *an injunction,* as we would say; a provisional prohibition by the praetor. 128

11. **Cum acciderent.** This is an indirect eulogy of the reign of Vespasian.

16. **Adversus tutores.** His three orations against Aphobus are still extant.

17. **Defensus** = *the defence of;* the perfect participle equivalent to a verbal in — *io.*

22. **Quaestionis,** *i. e.* the question discussed in the dialogue.

23. **Ea re,** *i. e.* eloquentia.

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128 **28. Steterit,** *sc.* eloquentia. **Quoque plures** = et quo plures, *and the more.*

129 **4. Agit,** *it lives.*

6. Quae, in agreement with **consuetudinem,** the nearer noun.

9. Comperendinationes, *adjournments* of the time of trial to the third following day (con + perendinus). Vertagungen; dilationes rerum in diem perendinum sive tertium. Ri. That is, *more Romano,* with only one entire day intervening; on "the day after to-morrow."

12. Adstrinxit, *contracted,* by enacting that the accuser should be limited to two hours, and the accused to three hours.

15. Quanto, *how much;* an indirect interrogative. The following **quod** is a direct interrogative.

16. Causae centumvirales, those pleaded before the centumviri. See note, line 16, page 90.

18. Obruebantur, *were eclipsed.*

20. Liber = oratio; cf. "quinque in Verrem libros."

21. Dictus legatur, *is read as having been spoken,* i. e. we do not read that any such oration was spoken.

22. Pro — inscribuntur, that is, their title was, "Pro Heredibus Urbiniae."

24. Temporum quies, *inactivity of the times,* times barren of stirring events and exciting circumstances.

26. Principis, *i. e.* Augusti. **Disciplina,** *the habit,* the manner; which easily passes into *policy.*

27. Pacaverat, ab accusando avocaverat. Ernesti.

130 **2. Paenulas istas.** The paenula was a thick cloak, used chiefly by the Romans in travelling, as a protection against the cold and rain. At one time it appears to have been commonly worn in the city instead of the toga, as we even find mention of orators wearing it when pleading causes. *Dict. Antiqq.*

5. Auditoria et tabularia, instead of the free, open space of the forum. **Tabularia** were *archive offices,* in which were kept public records and documents.

7. Est aliquis, *is something,* and not absolutely a matter of indifference: it is rather a matter of importance.

9. Ipsam — experimur, *nay more, we find the very care and anxiety of our diligent style opposed;* for, though we may have carefully prepared or thought out our speech, there are frequent interruptions and questions put to us, and it is necessary to commence again from the last question; and this destroys the effect

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of a well prepared speech. We take **stili** here to be the writing instrument. 130

10. Stili. The *stilus* or *stylus* was an iron instrument, resembling a pencil in size and shape, used for writing upon waxed tablets. At one end it was sharpened to a point for scratching the characters upon the wax, while the other end, being flat and circular, served to render the surface of the tablets smooth again. Thus, *vertere stilum* means *to erase*, and hence *to correct*, as in the well-known precept *saepe stilum vertas*. Dict. Antiqq.

13. Patronus, *i. e.* the patronus of one of the parties to the suit, who may have had legal assistants; and, if the present reading is correct, we must understand the patronus as not wishing to delay the case by useless talking. Some editors have *patronis*.

14. Unus — adsistit. Only one or two persons care to listen to the speaker.

16. Quodam theatro, *i. e.* a numerous and interested audience, ready to applaud the orator.

18. Pariter = *as well;* many as well as noble men. **Coartarent,** *crowded*, thronged.

21. Sua interesse, *that it concerned them.* **Sua** is ablative.

22. C. Cornelium — P. Vatinium. All these were defended by Cicero.

25. Ut, *so that;* introducing an inference from the preceding remark.

28. Egerunt — censeantur, *delivered them are not valued more for their other orations.*

1. Jam, changing the scene, not the time, and still referring to the republican period. 131

2. Ipsa — gloria, the very renown arising from personal enmities.

6. Populi — uterentur. The true reading of this passage is quite uncertain. We follow Halm. **Histriones,** *as actors.*

8. Faces, *incentives.*

18. Certo imperio, *with a settled government,* in which every subject knew his place and duties, and had little to say about his rights.

21. Omnia omnes poterant, *everybody could do everything.*

2. Et leges, *their* (famous Agrarian) *laws also.* 132

3. Tali exitu, referring to his murder by the soldiers of Antony.

4. Quod — fori, *what still remains of the ancient forum to orators.*

5. Usque = *entirely.*

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132 6. **Advocat,** *i. e.* calls on us for professional counsel.

7. **Nocens aut miser.** While such existed, Maternus would say, the constitution of the state was far from faultless.

14. **Usus, profectus,** partitive genitives.

22. **Sapientissimus et unus.** Perhaps a eulogy of Vespasian; though Maternus may have had in mind an ideal perfect ruler. **Voluntariis accusationibus.** Under the republic young Romans frequently brought accusations against prominent public men, as a means of bringing themselves into notice.

25. **Cognoscentis,** *of the inquirer* = judicis.

133 5. **Citra,** *without.*

7. **Quibus,** *some things that.*

13. **Te poetis** = te apud poetas.

14. **Ego** (*i. e.* Aper) **vos** (criminabor) **rhetoribus.**

THE END.